

THE
WORKS
Of the Right Reverend
GEORGE BULL, D.D.

Late Bishop of St. DAVID'S,
Concerning the HOLY TRINITY.

CONSISTING OF

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| I. The Defence of the <i>Nicene</i> | III. The Primitive and Apo- |
| Creed. | stolical Tradition concern- |
| II. The Judgment of the Ca- | ing the received Doctrine |
| tholick Church of the | in the Catholick Church, |
| three first Centuries, con- | of our Saviour Jesus Christ's |
| cerning the Necessity of be- | Divinity, asserted, and plain- |
| lieving <i>that our Lord Jesus</i> | ly proved, against <i>Daniel</i> |
| <i>Christ is true God</i> , asserted | <i>Zuicker</i> a <i>Prussian</i> , and |
| against <i>M. Simon Episco-</i> | his late Disciples in <i>Eng-</i> |
| <i>pius</i> , and others. | <i>land</i> . |

Translated into *ENGLISH*:

WITH

The *Notes* and *Observations* of Dr. *GRABE*. And some
Reflections upon the late Controversists in this Doctrine.

By FR. HOLLAND, M. A. Rector of *Sutton Wilts*,
and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. *Thomas* Lord Viscount *WEYMOUTH*.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JAMES HOLLAND, at the *Bible and Ball* in
St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXXV.

Sold by *Bowen Whitledge*, in *Ave-Mary-Lane*.

THE

WORKS

Of the Right Reverend

GEORGE BULL, D.D.

Late Bishop of St. David's

Concerning the Holy Trinity.

CONSISTING OF

I. The Doctrine of the Trinity. II. The Trinity and the Holy Spirit. III. The Trinity and the Church. IV. The Trinity and the Sacraments. V. The Trinity and the Moral Law. VI. The Trinity and the Christian's Duty. VII. The Trinity and the Christian's Hope. VIII. The Trinity and the Christian's Love. IX. The Trinity and the Christian's Faith. X. The Trinity and the Christian's Charity. XI. The Trinity and the Christian's Patience. XII. The Trinity and the Christian's Meekness. XIII. The Trinity and the Christian's Gentleness. XIV. The Trinity and the Christian's Kindness. XV. The Trinity and the Christian's Goodwill. XVI. The Trinity and the Christian's Peace. XVII. The Trinity and the Christian's Joy. XVIII. The Trinity and the Christian's Purity. XIX. The Trinity and the Christian's Innocence. XX. The Trinity and the Christian's Simplicity. XXI. The Trinity and the Christian's Modesty. XXII. The Trinity and the Christian's Temperance. XXIII. The Trinity and the Christian's Sobriety. XXIV. The Trinity and the Christian's Industry. XXV. The Trinity and the Christian's Diligence. XXVI. The Trinity and the Christian's Zeal. XXVII. The Trinity and the Christian's Boldness. XXVIII. The Trinity and the Christian's Firmness. XXIX. The Trinity and the Christian's Perseverance. XXX. The Trinity and the Christian's Victory.



Translated into ENGLISH.

WITH

The Notes and Observations of Dr. GRABE. And some Additions from the late General Beilinson to his Doctrine.

By FR. HORT, M.A. Rector of St. Andrew's Church, and of the Rector of St. Andrew's Church, London.

VOL. II.

LONDON.

Printed by J. H. B. at the Printing Office, No. 1, St. Andrew's Church, London.



TO
The REVEREND
JOHN YOUNGER, D.D.
Dean of SARUM.

Honoured Sir,



THE Design of this Translation is to acquaint the People with the Antiquity and Universality of their most Holy Faith in the Son of God; to

iv DEDICATION.

shew them, that his true and proper Divinity is part of that Profession first deliver'd to the Saints. The *Gnostics* (as great Pretenders to Knowledge as the *Arians* of this Age) gave it an early opposition. This has been unfortunately reviv'd in many succeeding Centuries, but never subsisted except by Fraud or Force ; and when at the highest, ow'd its growth not to Councils legally call'd, and freely held; not to the general Suffrage of antient Doctors, but to the Connivance or Encouragement of secular Powers. By these excellent Pieces, the groundless Assertions of some zealous Moderns are detected, who are often sending us to *Montanus* or *Rome* for holding this Article, tho' (a) *Ter-*



Ed. Rigalt. adv. Praxeam, p. 535. Nos vero & semper, & nunc magis ut instructiores per Paraclerum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, &c. St. Jerome charges

went

[2 A]

the

DEDICATION. V

tullian declares he believ'd it, whilst he was a Catholick; and the World neither felt nor fear'd the Errors and Tyranny of Papal Power, when it universally obtain'd in the Western Church.

I hope the Design is executed with exactness enough to make it serviceable. As you have been remarkable in your Station for opposing the Revival of old Heresy, and modern Fanaticism, I have taken the Liberty to inscribe it to you. The intended Respect to your Character, begs your Excuse rather than your

the Montanists with Sabellianism, so far are they from being Trinitarians. Ed. Froben. Tom. 2. p. 128. Ep. ad Marcellam. Primum in Fidei regula discrepamus, Nos Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum in sua unumquemque persona ponimus, licet substantia copulemus: Illi [Montanistæ] Sabellij dogma sectantes, Trinitatem in unius personæ angustias cogunt. According to Tertullian, if they are Trinitarians, that Faith is not peculiar to Montanism; according to Jerome, they are the contrary, even Sabellians.

Ac-

vi DEDICATION.

Acceptance, and is wholly grounded upon a Sentiment universally receiv'd and put in practice ; That Honour is always due to Merit and Station, and that it is the Duty of one to offer it, where there is no addition to another in receiving it.

Honoured Sir,

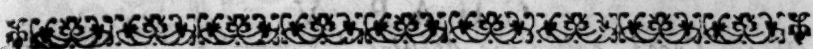
Your most Humble Servant,

FR. HOLLAND.



THE

THE
CONTENTS of the Second Volume.



A Defence of the Nicene Faith. Sect. 4. Of the Subordination of the Son to the Father, as to his Original and Principle. Pag. 1

CHAP. I.

The First Thesis is propos'd concerning this Subordination, and confirm'd by the unanimous Consent of the Antients, &c. ibid.

CHAP. II.

The Second Thesis is propos'd and confirm'd, in which is shewn, That the Antients with one Voice taught, &c. p. 16

CHAP. III.

A large Answer to the Objection, against what has been said in the former Chapter, &c. p. 37

CHAP. IV.

The third Thesis is proposed, in which the Use of the Doctrine of the Son's Subordination is explained. p. 66

The Conclusion of the whole Work. p. 88



THE Judgment of the Catholick Church of the three First Centuries, &c. Preface. Pag. 102
The Introduction. p. 106

CHAP. I.

The Testimonies of the Primitive Fathers, That the Article of our Lord's Divinity is absolutely necessary to be believ'd, in order to Salvation. p. 109

CHAP. II.

Of those who in the First Age of Christianity oppos'd the Doctrine of the Gospel, concerning Christ's being God and Man. p. 124

CHAP. III.

Of those who deny'd Jesus Christ to be true God, in the second and third Ages. p. 152

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Creeds of the Primitive Church: And first, of the first and most antient Creed, and the Explications of it in Irenæus and Tertullian.

p. 160

C H A P. V.

Of the Creed, call'd the Apostles.

p. 171

C H A P. VI.

Of the antient Eastern Creed.

p. 200

Notes upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters.

p. 229

C H A P. VII.

Of a famous Place in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

p. 248

Appendix to the Seventh Chapter.

p. 268

THE Primitive and Apostolical Tradition concerning the receiv'd Doctrine in the Catholick Church, &c. *The Introduction.*

p. 284

C H A P. I.

That Justin was not the first who introduced the Doctrine of our Saviour's Pre-existence before the World was made, &c.

p. 287

C H A P. II.

That Justin was not deceiv'd by the Frauds of the Simonians, &c.

p. 303

C H A P. III.

Concerning Hegesippus, and his Opinion of the Person of Jesus Christ.

p. 309

C H A P. IV.

Of the Orphic Verses, and, by way of Digression, of the Sybilline Oracles, &c.

p. 325

C H A P. V.

That Justin did not learn from the Platonics the Notions he has given us of the Word.

p. 339

C H A P. VI.

That Justin entirely abhorr'd Paganism, and the Worship of more Gods, &c.

p. 348





A
D E F E N C E
OF THE
N I C E N E F A I T H.

V O L. II.

S E C T. IV.

*Of the Subordination of the Son to the
Father, as his Original and Principle.*

C H A P. I.

*The First Thesis is propos'd concerning this
Subordination, and confirm'd by the unani-
mous Consent of the Antients. It is shewn,
that the manner of speaking of some
Moderns, in which they call the Son God of,
or from Himself, is contrary to the Nicene
Synod, and the Opinion of all Catholick
Doctors before and after it.*



WE have said a great deal concerning the
Subordination of the Son to the Father,
by the way, in the preceding Sections;
but the Argument is very well worthy a
more accurate Explication by itself, espe-
cially since in the beginning of our Work, we pro-
posed

VOL. II.

A

posed to confirm it by Testimonies, as a distinct Head of Doctrine, deliver'd in the *Nicene Creed*. Let this be the Thesis concerning this Subordination.

THESIS I.

The Catholick Doctors who have wrote before and since the Nicene Council, have, by their Suffrage, confirm'd that Decree of the Council, in which it is determin'd, that the Son is God of God. For they have with one Mouth taught, that the Divine Nature and Perfections agree to the Father and the Son, not collaterally, or co-ordinately, but subordinately, i. e. That the Son hath indeed the same Divine Nature common with the Father, but communicated by the Father; so that the Father alone hath that Divine Nature of himself, or from no other; but the Son from the Father, and therefore, that the Father is the Fountain, Original, and Principle of the Divinity which is in the Son.

2. We need not give our selves much Trouble in proving that Part of our Thesis which relates to the *Ante-Nicene Doctors*, because it is sufficiently confirm'd by most of the Testimonies cited concerning the Generation of the Son in the second and third Sections. *The very Words Son and Generation* do at first imply the † Subordination of the Son to the Father, who begat him; and these Words they use every where. *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity among *Tertullian's Works*, hath indeed express'd the common Notion of these Antients, in a Place cited by us before more than once. Whatsoever, says he, the Son is, he is not of himself, because not unborn; but of the Father, because begotten. Whether he is the Word, or the Power,

† Dr. Whitby would make his Reader believe that Bishop Bull has own'd a Subordination in Essence; for to the Bishop's Words he has very honestly added these [quoad essentiam] and printed the whole Sentence in a different Character. But this is not the only Passage, in which he has been forc'd upon very unfair Methods, in order to prove an Absurdity upon the great Prelate. Vid. *Modestæ Disquisitiones* præf. p. 23.

or the Wisdom, or the Light, or the Son, and whatsoever of these he is, he is that from no other Cause than the Father, owing his Original to his Father. *Justin Martyr* expressly says, (a) that the Father is to the Son the Cause of his Being. Hence it is usual with the same *Justin*, and the other *Ante-Nicene* Writers, to call God the Father, by way of Distinction; sometimes God absolutely, sometimes the one God, sometimes the God and Father of all, (according to the (b) Scriptures) namely, because the Father alone is God of himself, but the Son God of God. For this Cause also those Writers, as often as they name the Father and the Son together, commonly give the Name of God to the Father, denoting the second Person by the Title of Son of God, or Saviour, or Lord, or some such like Appellation. *Tertullian* speaks well upon this Point: I will follow the Apostle, says he, so that if the Father and Son are to be named together, I'll call the Father God, and Jesus Christ our Lord. Now I can only call Christ God, as the same Apostle does; of whom Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever. For I will call a Ray of the Sun by itself, the Sun; but when I name the Sun, whose Ray it is, I'll not at the same time call the Ray also the Sun.

3. But, as I said, No-body can doubt whether the *Ante-Nicene* Doctors acknowledg'd the Subordination, of which we speak. It remains then to shew, that the *Post-Nicene* Fathers deliver'd the same Doctrine, and were constant Defenders of the Faith determin'd in it, that no one may think we have mistaken the Words of the *Nicene Creed*. They also bravely affirm, that the Father is the Cause, Principle, and Author of the Son, and even call the Father the One God. First, then, they call the Father the Principle of the Son, namely, as that Word Principle signifies that,

(a) *Justin*, p. 358. (b) 1 Cor. viii. 4. Eph. iv. 6. John xvii. 3.

from which something arises, no matter how ; that is, whether in Time, or from Eternity ; not as it signifies a Beginning of Existence, when a thing, which before was not, begins to be. *Athanasius* thus (a) explains those Words of *John*: *In the Beginning was the Word*, as though the Evangelist had written, the Son was in the Father : for according to *John*, the Word was in this Principle, *and the Word was with God*. For God is the Principle, and since the Word was from it, the *Word was God*. Now *Gregory Nyssen* (b) accurately explains the (c) Notion of the Word Principle, how the Son hath the Father as his Principle ; and also, how he is without Principle : *But since the Word* ἄρχῃ, or Principle, hath many Significations, and an extensive Idea, we say there are some of them, in which we are not to deny to the only begotten Son the Title of *Beginningless*. For when by the Word *Beginningless*, we have the Notion of having a Subsistence from no Cause, we confess it to be proper to the Father only : but when the Question is of any of the other Significations of the Word *Beginning*, as when it hath the Idea of the beginning of any Creature, of Time and Order, in these we bear Testimony to the only Begotten, that he is above, or *higher than Beginning* ; so that we believe him, by whom all things were made, to be above every Beginning of Creation, Notion of Time, and Degree of Order : So that the Word is not *Beginningless* in Subsistence, but in every other respect, is confessedly *Beginningless* ; that the Father is *Beginningless*, and *Unbegotten*, but that the Son is after the manner aforesaid *Beginningless*, but not *Unbegotten*. Thus also (d) *Gregory Nazianzen* explains how the Three Divine Persons are equally

(a) Vol. I. Tom. I. p. 617.

(b) Ed. Grets. p. 118. Lib. I. contra Eunomium.

(c) *This Notion of St. Gregory Nyssen is abundantly confirm'd by many Places of the Antients, both before and after the Nicene Council, as is plain from several Notes I have made before.*

(d) Orat. 35. p. 562.

Beginningless, and how the Father alone is Beginningless. How are they, the Son and Spirit, not Beginningless with him, the Father, if eternal with him? They are from him, but not after him. What is Beginningless, is Eternal; but what is Eternal, is not altogether Beginningless, so long as it is referr'd to the Father, as the Beginning, they are not then Beginningless with respect to the Cause. And again, (a) the Father is properly said of him that is Beginningless, the Son of him that is begotten Beginningless. Lastly, *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, in the beginning of his first Book of Commentaries upon *John*, teaches, that the Father is the Principle of the Son or Beginning, only as he is that from which he proceeded.

4. The Word Cause *αἰτία*, or *αἰνία*, in *Latin Causa*, is of the same nature with Principle, or *Principium*. I have a little before observ'd, that *Justin Martyr* hath said that the Father is the Cause of the Son. Now, the Catholick Authors who wrote after the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy, speak after the like manner: They say that one Person in the Trinity, namely, God the Father, is the Cause, and that there are which are caused, the Son and Holy Spirit. (b) So *Constantine* the Great; The Father is the Cause of the Son, and the Son is caused. (c) So *Athanasius* (or some other Person, Catholick without doubt in this Doctrine) The Son is not the Cause, but the Caused. (d) *Basil* says, We say the Father is set before the Son, as Causes are before those things that proceed from them. And again, (e) The Father, what else doth it signify, but to be the Cause and Beginning of him, who is begotten of him? In like manner, *Gregory Nazianzen* (f) asserts more than once, that the Father is the Cause of the Son and Holy Spirit: For he would be the Principle of small things, and

(a) Pag. 590. (b) Euseb. E. H. p. 480. (c) Tom. 2. p. 339. (d) Basil, Tom. 1. p. 720. (e) p. 724. (f) Greg. Naz. Orat. 29. Tom. 1. p. 490.

things unworthy of him, if he was not the Cause of the Godhead in the Son and Holy Spirit. And *a little after*, in the same place: There is one God, the Son and Holy Spirit being referr'd to one Cause. And again he saith, that God the Father is the Principle, as the Cause, Fountain, and eternal Light †. *Damascene* (a) also writes thus: We acknowledge a Difference of Subsistence in these Three Properties only, in the Father's and uncaus'd; the Son's and caus'd; the Processive and caus'd. The same Person, in his first Book of Images, not far from the beginning: The Son is the Image of the invisible God, who hath the Father in him, and is in all things the same with him, except in this one, that he is from him, as from a Cause. For the Father is the natural Cause from which the Son proceeds. Of the *Latins*, (b) *Marius Victorinus* has spoke after the same manner: But the Father is greater, in that he gave all things to the Son, and is to the Son the Cause of his Being, and of his being after such a manner. Now before, *Victorinus* had said, that the Son indeed was the principal Cause of all things, but the Father the superior Cause, as being the Cause of the Son. *Hilary* (c) calls the Father the Cause of the Nativity of the Son. And (d) *speaking* of the eternal Generation of the Son, he saith, And being born of a Cause, yet perfect and immutable, it is necessary he be born of that Cause in the Propriety of that Cause. Lastly, *Augustine* (e) also speaks after the same manner: God is the Cause of all things that are. As he is the Cause of all things, he is the Cause of his own Wisdom, nor was God ever without his Wisdom. Therefore he is the eternal Cause of his own eternal Wisdom, nor is he prior in Time to his own Wisdom.

† Compare with these Orat. 24. p. 429. and Orat. 27. p. 501.

(a) Damasc. Lib. 3. de Orthod. fide, c. 5. (b) In Lib. 1. adv. Arium. (c) Hil. de Trin. Lib. 11. (d) Lib. 12. (e) August. Lib. 73. Quæst. 16.

5. The Word Author is of the same Signification, which the *Latin* Doctors frequently attribute to the Father, in respect of the Son. Thus (a) *Hilary* upon that place of *John*, chap. 5. ver. 19. If he doeth what he doeth, by Authority of the paternal Nature in him, the Father doeth it, who even now worketh on the Sabbath. The Son is not to be accus'd of working, inasmuch as he hath before him the Authority of the Father's working. For the Words [the Son can't, &c.] must not be referr'd to Infirmary, but Authority. Again, (b) Now since the unbegotten God was the Author of the perfect Nativity of the Divine Blessedness, to be the Author of the Nativity is a sacred Property of the Father. But he is not disgrac'd, who by a genuine Nativity makes up a compleat Image of his Author. Nay, the same *Hilary* does in other Places very frequently use this Word; as in the 4th Book, explaining the 44th Psalm, he saith: Wherefore God hath anointed thee, even thy God. Thy, with relation to the Author; Thee, to him who is of the Author: For he is God of God. Again, he is so the Image, not as to differ in kind, but to signify his Author. So in the Book of Synods, and in the Place which we have cited elsewhere: He is subject to the Father, as his Author. (c) *Augustine* also speaks nicely, according to Custom: In the Father, is insinuated to us Authority; in the Son, Nativity; and in the Holy Spirit, the Community of the Father and Son; in the Three, Equality. Of the same Import are the Words Root, Fountain, Head, which the antient Catholicks do in like manner attribute to God the Father, with respect to the Son and Holy Spirit. So *Basil*: (d) For the Father is he who hath a perfect Existence, wanting nothing, the Root and Fountain of the Son and Holy Spirit. Thus also *Ambrose*; (e) The Father is Lord, because the Root of the Son. And again: (f) The

(a) Lib. 9. de Trin. (b) Ibid. (c) Serm. 11. de Verb. Domini secund. Matth. (d) Homil. 27. contra Sabell. Tom. 1. p. 606. (e) Lib. 10. in Lucam. (f) In Lib. 4. de fulm. c. 5.

Father is the Fountain of the Son, the Father is the Root of the Son. And *Ruffinus*, upon the Creed, calls the Father the Head of the Son. And though he is the Head of all things, the Father is the Head of him.

6. Lastly, The Antients were not afraid to call God the Father, as being the Principle, Cause, Author, and Fountain of the Son, the one and only God. Thus the very *Nicene* Fathers began their Creed, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, &c. And then subjoin, And in one Jesus Christ—God of God. The (a) *Great Athanasius*, who knew the Sense of the *Nicene* Council as well as any one, yields that the Father is justly call'd the one God, because only unbegotten, and only the Fountain of the Godhead. Omitting others, which I might cite, I shall only add to him the Authority of *Hilary*. He explains the Passage of *John* the Evangelist, chap. 17. ver. 3. in his 3^d Book upon the Trinity, and writes thus: The Son gives the Father due Honour, when he says, *Thee the only true God*. But yet the Son doth not separate himself from the Truth or Reality of God, or the Godhead, when he adds, *And Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*. There is no Difference in the Confession of Believers, because in both of them is the Hope of Life. Neither is the true God gone off from him, who has him jointly [with the Son]. When therefore it is said, That they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent; under this Signification of him that sendeth, and him that is sent, the Truth and Divinity of the Father and Son is no way distinguish'd; but the Faith of our Religion is set to the Confession of one that beget, and another that is begotten. To all these Testimonies, I will add this by way of Conclusion, That this Doctrine of one Principle in the Trinity without Principle, namely, the Father, was so fix'd and establish'd in the primi-

(a) Tom. 2. p. 37.

rive Church, that in the 49th of those Canons, call'd Apostolical, he is condemned, who shall baptize into Three [Persons] Beginningless, or without Principle. Upon which Canon, this is † Zonaras's Note : For the Church is taught to worship one Beginningless, the Father, as having no Cause; and one Son, as being ineffably begotten; and one Comforter, the Holy Ghost.

7. This Thesis is especially worth Notice, upon account of some * Moderns, who obstinately contend, that the Son may properly be call'd God of himself. This Opinion now is both repugnant to their Hypotheses who defend it, and to Catholick Consent. For they say, that the Son of God is from God the Father, as he is Son, not as he is God; that he had his Person, not his Essence or Divine Nature, from the Father. But this is contradictory: For as Petavius (b) rightly observes, the Son cannot be begotten of the Father, unless he have from him his Nature and Godhead. For what else is it to be begotten, than to be born of another after a Similitude of Nature? Thus it is necessary that he who is begotten, should have a Nature communicated from him that begat, that he may be like him. But if Christ, as he is the Son of God, is not God, or without Divinity, he only had a Relation from the Father: But a Relation can't be without a Subject. A Person here can't be without a Substance, unless

† See how the Answer to the Queries translates, and mutilates Zonaras, p. 83.

* Dr. Clarke endeavours to shew, that this Notion is contrary to another of the Bishop's, (Sect. 2. Chap. 9.) where he distinguishes our Lord into God absolutely, or relatively as God of God, &c. and urges, that he must either believe as they do, whom he opposes, or contradict himself: But where is the Contradiction to say this? The Man that deriv'd his Being from another is absolute Man, and also Man in the Relation of a Son to him from whom he deriv'd it. Can't this Distinction be made, and different Regards be had to this Man in each of these respects, without affirming him to be in one of them a Man, and in the other a Person only. Is he not as well a Person, as he is an absolute Man, as he is one when relatively consider'd?

(b) De Trin. Lib. 3. c. 3. n. 3.

you

you make a Person in the Divinity to be only a mere Mode of Existence, which is *Sabellianism*.

Hence the same *Petavius* hath in another place justly pronounc'd them to be in a very great Error, (a) not verbal, as *Bellarmino* thought, but real, who would have the Son to be God of himself. He subjoins his Reasons, that it overthrows, what he seems plainly to profess, namely, that the Son is generated of the Father. For, *says he*, Generation cannot be conceiv'd without the Communication of something; nay, further, of no other thing, but Nature, Essence, Substance, for as much as the Production is substantial; and Generation in this differs from other Propagations of Quality or Quantity. But if Essence is communicated to the Son by Generation, he hath Essence from the Father, not from himself. Otherwise he would either not be begotten, or not be begotten of another. Hence *Damasceus* (b) very well says, All things which the Son and Spirit have, they have of the Father, even Existence itself.

8. How this Opinion is repugnant to Catholick Consent, I have shewn a little before. The very Synod of *Nice* hath decreed, that the Son is God of God: but he who is God of God, can't be said to be God from himself, without a manifest Contradiction. But why do I endeavour to tie them up by the Authority of the *Nicene* Council, who have no Regard to it? For the Ring-leader of this Sect is not afraid to call the venerable Fathers of it *Fanaticks*; the Form of Confession, namely, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, harsh, tautologous, and fitter for a Sonnet than a Creed. * I dread to repeat what he has

(a) De Trin. Lib. 6. c. 11. n. 10.
Lib. 1. c. 10.

(b) De Fide Orthod.

* Dr. Clarke, &c. take great Notice of this Passage; a disjointed, single Sentence; as they also do of most of the other Places, which express or imply the Subordination, either in the Holy Fathers, or our learned and pious Bishop. It is enough with them to say, that the Weight of Truth oblig'd them to make such Concessions. This Weapon
will

has said, and seriously exhort the pious and studious Youth to beware of that Spirit, from which such things proceeded. We have indeed great Obligations to that Person for his good Service in the Popish Controversy; but far be it from us to take him for our Master, to swear what he thinks fit to say; or, lastly, to be afraid, upon all just Occasions, freely to censure his manifest Errors, his novel, uncatholick Tenets. Whosoever he is, or in other respects how great soever, who despises the Authority of the antient Catholick Church, so far we shall give him no Credit or Authority. The Sonnet, so much derided by the Great Man, was sung by a sacred Choir of about three Hundred Bishops, and Presbyters and Deacons innumerable, assembled in that First and most August Oecumenical Synod. The *Ante-Nicene* Catholick Doctors sung the same with wonderful Harmony, as we have prov'd by Citations from them in the second and third Sections. In a word, That the Son of God is God of God, is the Voice and Song of the whole Catholick Church of Christ, consonant to the Word of God in his holy Oracles, and never [in primitive Times] opposed by any, but at his own Peril.

9. I will add one thing further from *Petavius*, (a) That that Opinion is manifestly contrary to the Doctrine of the first Reformers, *Luther* and *Melancthon*. For *Luther*, (b) among many other things erroneously determin'd by that corrupt Church, reckons that Decree of the *Lateran* Council, that the divine Essence neither generates, nor is generated. Who

will serve any Person that will make use of it. Suppose the Doctor and his Friends had, as they boast, all the Antients on their side, and some Orthodox Adversary should glean a few Passages, which they rather chuse to reject with Indignation, than explain consistently with their Scheme, tacking to them the famous Gloss (see how far the Weight of Truth will oblige, &c.) how easily might he be answer'd?

(a) De Trin. Lib. 6. c. 12. n. 1. (b) Tom. 2. fol. 70. Lib. de Captiv. Babylon.

then

then can doubt but that he thought their Opinion a manifest Error, who plainly deny that God is born of God, and teach that the Son is God, not from the Father, but himself? *Melancthon*, in his Explication of the *Nicene Creed*, thinks it truly said, that the Essence of the Son is begotten, as it is said in the Creed, God of God, Light of Light. Then he thus answers to this Objection: The same cannot beget itself; therefore since Essence is the same, Essence can't beget Essence: The same as incommunicable, can't beget itself; but the same as communicable, is communicated to the begotten: but Essence is communicable, therefore is communicated to the Begotten. At the same time and place, *Petavius* very ridiculously hugs himself in the Disagreement of Hereticks, as he calls them, among themselves. As though, forsooth, there was no Clashing in the Church of *Rome*; when in this very Point, there is a manifest Contradiction between *Richardus Victorinus*, and the Master of the Sentences; (to say nothing of the Abbot *Joa-chim*) the one saying with *Austin*, and the other Fathers, that Substance begets Substance, and Wisdom Wisdom; the other asserting, that Essence doth not beget Essence. For *Petavius*, in vain, attempts to reconcile these jarring Notions: He confesses, that most of the Schoolmen and Divines thought, that the *Late-ran* Council had determin'd before for the Opinion of the Master against the Doctrine of *Richard*. The Jesuit must pardon us, if we give Credit to the Generality of Schoolmen and Divines, rather than *Petavius* only. I will add, that by the same Subtilties by which *Petavius* endeavours to set a Gloss upon the Opinion of the Council and the Master, he may also excuse that Error of *Calvin's*, which so highly provokes him. The Case will be plain to any one, who considers it closely. But I wish that the Schoolmen on both sides of the Question, would forbear their trifling Subtilties upon this most venerable Mystery; and that we might all embrace, with an holy Simplicity of Faith,

the

the Opinion of the Catholick Church, namely, that the Son of God is God of God, and very God of very God.

10. What a great Man objects, (a) That the Son is by *Origen* call'd Wisdom itself, Truth and Righteousness itself, is nothing at all to the purpose. For it is certain, that in those Words, the Pronoun which we render [itself] imports only the Reality of the Thing, not the Cause, or Original ; so that *Origen* intended no more than that the Son, even as the Father, is the most perfect Wisdom, Truth and Righteousness, not in the mean time denying that the Son had all these Perfections from another, namely, from the Father. For so the same *Origen* (b) calls the Son in another Place, not only Wisdom itself, or the very Wisdom, but also the very Son. Where it is plain He is call'd the very Son, not as being the Son of himself, (for what cou'd be more absurd ?) but as being the true and genuine Son of God. In this Sense also *Athanasius* applies the same Words to the Son of God, as we have cited him before. And in this Sense, no Catholick will deny that the Son of God is 'Αυτοθεός, i. e. true and very God. Hence *Eusebius* (c) himself, who acknowledg'd the Subordination of the Son to the Father, as his Original and Principle, as much as any one, never doubted to say, that our Saviour was truly to be worship'd as the genuine Son of the Supreme God, and as very God. Here the Word 'Αυτοθεός, it is manifest, does not denote God of, or from himself, but the very God ; both because the Son of God is here call'd 'Αυτοθεός, and that in the same Breath the Father is call'd the Supreme God, and also that the Word 'Αυτοθεός is explanatory of what went before, namely the genuine Son : and lastly, from what follows in the same Place ; for a little after, *Eusebius* speaking of the Government, and supreme Empire of

(a) Chamier. Corp. Theolog. l. 3. c. 19. p. 106. (b) Comment. in Joannem, Tom. 32. Ed. Huet. p. 416. (c) E. H. 307.

our Saviour, says, What could resist the Will of the Word, King of all, Governour of all, and very God? Now the Son is by *Eusebius* call'd *Ἀυτοθεός*, as being very God, truly God, or God himself. But perhaps it may be worth the while to recite what the excellent *Valesius* hath noted upon the Place (d). This Place, says he, is especially to be observ'd, in which *Eusebius* calls Christ truly and of himself God; for this Place, in my Judgment indeed, is sufficient to refute all the Calumnies of those, who have believ'd *Eusebius* to be infected with Arianism. The very learned Father then is abundantly clear'd of this Accusation by the more plain Testimonies we have cited before. But I return to *Origen*. He expressly affirms (e), That the Father alone is God of himself, and ought to be call'd in that Place, where he thus opposes those Persons, who, that they might not seem to deny one God, either determin'd, that the Father and the Son were the same Person, or that the Son was essentially different from the Father: *They must say that God*, with the Article, is the *Ἀυτοθεός* or very God of himself; beause our Saviour says, in the Prayer to the Father, That they may know thee the only true God. But every thing besides the *Ἀυτοθεός* or God of himself, is, by participation of the Divinity, made God. † In the mean time, in that very Place, *Origen* condemns those as denying the Divinity of the Son, who place his *Property*, and circumscribe his Essence, as different from the Father. He then confess'd that the Father and Son are of the same Substance, therefore that the Son is true God as

(d) *Vales. Not.* p. 172. (e) *Comment. in Joannem*, Tom. 2. p. 47. *Ed. Huet.*

† *The Answer to the Queries* (p. 41.) cites two Passages out of *Origen's Comment upon St. John* (the Place from which these are cited) but takes no notice of this plain Declaration, which he might also have seen, if he had pleas'd. If he borrow'd these Fragments of *Dr. Clarke* indeed, he is not so much to be blam'd; for p. 4, and 5. of the *Script. Doctrinæ*, both *Origen* and *Athanasius* are represented in the same main'd condition.

well as the Father ; he confess'd this, I say, in the same Breath, in which he pronounc'd that the Father alone could be call'd *Αυτοθεός*, or God of himself; so that *Petavius* doth in vain carp at *Origen* in this Place. Consult *Huetius* upon the Place if you please.

Grabe's Annotations upon Section 10.

To the Places cited from *Origen*, *Athanasius*, and *Eusebius*, for the Phrase in which the Son of God is call'd *Αυτοθεός*, may be added the Authority of *Epiphanius* (a) : God the Word having in himself all Perfection, being Perfection itself, very God, Power, Mind, and Light itself. In what Sense these Words of his are to be taken by us, (b) *Athanasius* hath excellently told us, He is not these by Participation, or as though he had these things externally, as those who are partakers of him, or made wise by him, or are powerful or rational in him, but He is the very proper Wisdom, Word, and Power of the Father. The Word *ΑΥΤΟ* prefix'd to Names, for the most part signifies, that the thing denoted by these Names is properly, essentially, and in its own nature such [as it is said to be :] Thus *Suidas* teaches. The Philosophers, used the Word *ΑΥΤΟ* for properly speaking, and they noted the Idea by this Word, saying *ΑΥΤΟΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ*, (a very Man, or the Idea of Man) and *ΑΥΤΟΔΟΞΑΣΘΗ*, that which is properly, or rather to be thought. After this manner, no Catholick can deny, as one excellent Author has well observ'd, that Christ is *ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ*, or very, proper God. Nor does he less truly deny that he is to be call'd *ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ*, as the prefix'd *ΑΥΤΟ* denotes that this or that is so, or so of itself, but hath not a Substance or Quality deriv'd from another. For it is certain that Christ had his Godhead and Divine Attributes from the Father.

(a) Epiphan. Hæres. 77. (b) Vol. I. Tom. p. 46.



C H A P. II.

The Second Thesis is propos'd and confirm'd, in which is shewn, That the Antients with one Voice taught, that God the Father, as being the Original and Principle of the Son, was greater than He, and also, that the Son is in Nature equal to the Father.

I Suppose I have, in the former Chapter, sufficiently demonstrated that the Antients commonly acknowledg'd the Subordination of the Son to the Father, as his Original and Principle. Now that I am about to shew what they determin'd in consequence of it, I propose to illustrate and confirm this Thesis.

T H E S I S II.

The Catholick Doctors both before and after the Synod of Nice, have unanimously determin'd, that God the Father is greater than the Son, even with respect to his Divinity, namely, not in Nature, or any essential Perfection which is in the Father and not in the Son; but in Authority, i. e. Original alone, as the Son is from the Father, not the Father from the Son.

In this Thesis we assert two Things, 1st, That the Antients determin'd, That God the Father was greater than the Son, even with respect to his Divinity: 2^{dly}, That they nevertheless taught that the Father was greater than the Son in Original only, but that both were in Nature equal. We will shew that the Antients deliver'd both these Doctrines with one Voice; and first we will begin with those who wrote before the Rise of Arianism.

2. Of whom *Justin*, almost the antientest of them all, manifestly makes a certain Order, or as it were
Degree

Degree of Dignity in the Holy Trinity. In the Apology in the Vulgar Editions, call'd the Second, *he says*, (a) That the Christians did rationally reverence Christ, giving him the second Place. And *immediately* after he again says, 'That the Christians did justly give to Jesus Christ the second Place after the unchangeable, eternal God the Father of all Things (b). *Again*, in the same Apology; The first Power after God, the Father and Lord of all things, is the Son, who is the Word. And it is *parallel to this*, that in the same Apology, he again calls the Son (c) the Power next after the supreme God. *Lastly*, In the Dialogue with Trypho, (d) he calls the Son the Ministerial God of God, the Maker of all things. Yet the same Justin elsewhere, namely, in his Epistle to Diognetus, expressly denies that the Son of God is a Minister, calling him the Maker and Creator of all things. See the remarkable Passage cited entire before (e). You'll say, how can these things be reconcil'd? Easily. When the Son is call'd the second, or next after the Father, or the Minister of the Father, these Words denote a Subordination of Persons, as being originated one of another, but not a Difference or Inequality of Nature in the Divine Persons. The Father, as Father, is first in the Holy Trinity, the Son is next to the Father. In all the Divine Operations, the Son is the Minister of the Father, as he operates from God the Father, the Fountain and Original both of the Divine Essence and Operations; and the Father by him; not the Father from him, or he by the Father. Upon which account, Clement of Alexandria, (f) a true Catholick in this Article, doubted not to write thus concerning the Son of God: All the Power of the Lord is referr'd to the Almighty; and if we may so speak, the Son is the Energy of the Father. In the meantime, in most of those places in which he calls the Son the Minister of the Father, he has respect to that

(a) Pag. 60. (b) p. 74. (c) p. 93. (d) p. 279. (e) Sect. 2. Ch. 4. n. 6. (f) p. 506. Clem. Alex.

Dispensation which he the Son freely underwent for the Salvation of Mankind ; (as I shall shew hereafter) and that not first begun from his Incarnation, but from the Fall of Man. But the Son is truly denied to be the Minister, or Servant of the Father, with respect to the same Divine Nature, which he hath in common with the Father, though communicated by him, *i. e.* as he is not one of the Creatures of God, which are properly said to minister to God ; but true God, even as the Father. The Son is also justly call'd the Maker and Creator of all things, as well as the Father, because, though he had the Divine Nature and Omnipotence from the Father, he made all things not by that of another Person, but by his own natural Power and Omnipotence. Some of the Antients indeed have said that the Father made this World by the Son, as by an Instrument, meaning a connatural, not an extraneous Instrument, as *Grotius* hath well observ'd somewhere. Hence *Irenæus* hath said, that the Son minister'd to the Father in the very Creation ; who is, notwithstanding, as strenuous as any Man, in asserting the natural Equality of the Father and Son. (a) *Justin* has fully and exactly comprehended the whole Matter in a few Words, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, where, in his Notes upon this place of *Genesis*, *The Lord rain'd Fire from the Lord out of Heaven*, he saith ; The Words of the Prophet shew that there were two in number ; one on Earth, who says, that he descended to see the Cry of *Sodom* ; another in Heaven, who is the Lord of the Lord upon Earth, as being Father, and God and the Cause of Existence to him, who is also powerful, and Lord and God : I say, that from this short Sentence, we have a Key to open the Sense of all those Places, in which *Justin* seems to have spoken less honourably of the Son of God. Here he teaches that God the Father is God, and Lord of his Son : How ? As he is the Fountain of the Divinity,

and the Cause of the Son's Existence. The same Person, notwithstanding, doth no less clearly teach in the same Breath, that the Son is God and Lord, even as the Father; or that the Father granted it to the Son, that he should be what he is, God and Lord. The Son then is less than the Father, as he hath a Cause; but equal to him in Nature. The Son is equally God and Lord as the Father, and in this only differs from the Father, that he is God and Lord from the Father, who is God and Lord of himself; *i. e.* as the *Nicene* Synod hath determin'd it, God of God, and very God of very God. We also conclude more strongly (if indeed there can be any Difficulty in such plain Words) from hence, that this is *Justin's* Meaning, because in the Words immediately preceding, he describes the Generation of the Son from the Essence of the Father, and says, that the Son is begotten of the Father, not by a Division of the paternal Essence, but by a simple Communication, such as is betwixt the Fire that kindles, and the Fire that is kindled.

The Fire kindled, as *Justin* elsewhere (a) expressly says, is of the very same Nature with that from which it was kindled, and only differs in that Communication. Thus the Son is the true Divine Light, as well as the Father, nor is any way inferior to him, but as he is Light of Light, according to another Determination of the *Nicene* Council. And, indeed, to put the Reader in mind of it once for all, whosoever acknowledges the Son to be consubstantial with the Father (which *Justin*, and the other Antients, have done to a Man, as I have shewn before) he, upon that very account, does by consequence necessarily confess that the Son is in Nature equal to the Father. How, I beseech you, can any one believe the same Divine Nature to be common to the Son with the Father, and yet think that the Son wants some essential Property

(a) See Sect. 2. chap. 4. n. 3.

of the Divine Nature, and is consequently inferior to the Father? If Christ be the Son of God, and the true Son, namely, begotten of the Essence of the Father, he is necessarily equal to his Father in Nature, *i. e.* in those things which are proper to the Father, as God. This we see in the Propagation of all Animals, especially Men; for all Men are by Nature equal, and only differ in Accidents, which have no place in God, or the Divine Nature. Nay, further, no Substance can be more a Substance or less a Substance than another: If so, then there can be no Question or Controversy concerning the Dissimilitude of those things, which cannot be more or less perfect one than another, namely, of Substances in general, and by consequence of the Divine Substance: But this by the way. I proceed from *Justin* to the other Fathers.

3. *Irenæus* expressly says, that the Father is greater than the Son. (a) The Lord, *says he*, is the only true Master for us to learn from, that the Father is above all; for he saith, *the Father is greater than I*. Now we have before shewn, that here he had an especial Regard to the human Nature of Christ. But he saith, (b) That the Father commanded the Son to make the World: And again, That the (c) Son ministrcth to the Father in all things; which Words manifestly signify a certain Eminence of the Father above the Son, even as he is most properly the Son of God. Yet the same *Irenæus* saith, (d) that the immense Father is measur'd in the Son, and that the Son is the Measure of the Father, because he comprehends him. In this place, I have sufficiently demonstrated before, that the Equality of the Father and Son, as to Nature, is plainly declar'd. Therefore, according to *Irenæus*, the same Son, who, in respect to his Original from the Father, and the Dispensation he undertook, was less than the Father; in respect to his Divine Nature,

(a) Page 207. (b) p. 334. (c) p. 250. (d) Vid. *supra*, Sect. 2. chap. 5. n. 4.

which

*
Second

which he hath in common with him, is equal to the Father ; namely, so as to contain and comprehend him all, how great soever. In like manner, in that famous Place, where he compares the Word and the Creatures, he expressly notes this principal Difference, that no Creature is equal to his Maker, God the Father ; thereby manifestly signifying that the Word and Son of God is altogether equal to God the Father. See the entire Place, Sect. 2. chap. 5. n. 5. But what need of many Words ? whosoever has any Scruple in this Matter, let him read Book 2. Chap. 24. of *Irenæus*. There the holy Man is wholly employ'd in shewing against the *Valentinians*, that it is very absurd and blasphemous to say, the Word was imperfect, which proceeded from the perfect Father. In the same Place, he sharply rebukes the same Hereticks, for making their *Nûs* or Mind a perfect *Æon*, and absolutely equal to the Father of all things ; yet believing their Word, the Offspring of *Nûs*, to be imperfect, and plac'd in a State of Deminoration, (as the Version hath it.) Of many things in that Chapter to our purpose, we will cite this Place. (a) For, says he, the Father of all is not (as we have shew'd before) like a certain compounded Animal, something beside the *Nûs* or Mind ; but *Nûs* is the Father, and the Father is *Nûs*. It is therefore necessary, that he who is the Word from him, nay, that the very *Nûs*, which is the Word, should be perfect and impassible. And a little after, The *Logos* then (not possessing, * as they speak, the third Order of Generation) was not ignorant of the Father, as they teach. For this will be thought more probable perhaps in the Generation of Men, since they often know not their Parents ; but it is absolutely impossible in the Word of the Father. Afterwards he boldly pronounces in the same place, that they are blind to right Reason, who say the Word

(a) Page 179.

* The *Valentinians* said the Word was the Third, *Irenæus* the Second.

was sent forth in a State of Inferiority. It is then very certain that *Irenæus* acknowledg'd the natural Equality of God the Father, and of his Word, or Son.

4. *Clement* of *Alex.* seem'd to have taught in a Place (a) afore-cited, that the Son of God is the next Power after his Father. But the same *Clement* (in a Place, which I have also cited before) says, that the Son is the perfect Word, born of the perfect Father; that is, that the Son is not inferior to the Father in any degree of Perfection. But he speaks yet more expressly in another place: The Divine Word, most manifestly God, who is made equal to the Lord of the Universe, for he was his Son, and the Word was in God. Observe, The Word, or Son of God, whom he had in another Place call'd, with respect to his Original, the second from and next to God, he here expressly pronounces as equaliz'd to the Father; and that upon this account, because he is his Son, that is, begotten of him, and of the same Nature and Essence with him; and because the Word is in God, that is, subsists in his Divine Essence, in which there is nothing imperfect. Now it is especially to be observ'd, that in the same Breath, in which he makes the Son equal to the Father, he owns a certain Eminence or Prerogative of the Father above the Son, whilst he calls the Father Lord of all. God the Father namely, is, by way of Distinction, call'd Lord of all, as being the Cause and Original not only of all the Creatures, but of the Son himself, though after a different manner; namely, as he is the Cause of *him*, by an eternal Generation out of his own Essence; of *them*, by a Production out of Nothing, made in Time. *Saving therefore to the Father his Prerogative*, by which he is the Father and Original of every Being, *Clement* teaches * that

(a) Sect. 2. chap. 6. n. 6.

* These Words might have led some late Writers into another way of speaking; for when they assert that the Son is not in Nature the same

that the Son is equal to him, namely, as he hath the same common Nature with him. What *Sandius* answers to this Place, is strange indeed. It is plain, says he, that it is corrupt. Yes, indeed? Can *Sandius* (a) then, produce one Book, in which the Place is otherwise read? He cannot. But the Sophist does as he uses to do. As often as he is press'd with the Testimony of any Antient, which he can't otherwise elude, he cuts the Knot, which he can't untye; impudently asserting, in spite of the Consent of all Copies, that the Place is corrupt, that the Author thought and wrote otherwise. But who gave this Trifler such a Power over the Antients, as to reject, as spurious, what he does not like? Now, says he, it appears to be corrupt, by the Reason produc'd, because he was his Son. From which Reason, it was natural for the *Gentiles* to conclude the quite contrary; for it never enter'd into their Minds to think that the Son was equal to and *coeval* with the Father. But why has *Sandius* added the Word *Coeval*? That Word is not in the Place cited, nor does *Clement* there directly treat of the Son's Coeternity, (he hath asserted that in other Passages, which we have elsewhere cited) but of his natural Equality with the Father; which he rightly gathers from hence, because he is the true and genuine Son, begotten of his Substance, and subsisting in him. This Inference is firm and solid in the Judgment of all Men. For the human Father and the human Son are, in respect of the same human Nature common to both, altogether equal, as I have said before. But if *Clement* had from the same Reason concluded that the Son is *coeval* with the Father, he had not miss'd the Mark: For the Coeternity of the Son necessarily follows from his Consubstantiality, as we

same with the Father, the Reason they give for it is, because he is not supreme. If they had design'd to have brought this Controversy to an Head, they should have consider'd the Bishop's Salvo. I meddle not with the Notion, nor attempt to expose, what is so manifestly unphilosophical.

(a) Appendix ad Nucl. p. 99, and 139.

have shewn before. For tho in Men the Son must be later than his Father, in God Reason teaches us the very contrary. No Person can begin to exist from and in the Divine Essence, who was not before, without destroying the Immutability of God. Now that God is immutable, is the common Notion of Mankind. Therefore if the Son be the true and genuine Son of God the Father, that is, proceeds from the Substance of the Father, and subsists in him, he must be naturally equal to his Father, and also coeval and coeternal. Thus *Sandius* at last concludes his Answer: I see not how *Clement* can make the Son equal, who calls him the Minister of the Father's Will. But if *Sandius* did not see it when he wrote these things, he may now see it from what we have discoursed in this Chapter. Indeed, to speak freely, this profound Writer, by what he hath disputed in this place, and afterwards, seems to be forsaken of the Catholick Faith, and sound Judgment: God grant him a more sober Mind.

5. *Tertullian* is the next to *Clement*. He in many places gives the Father a Pre-eminence over the Son. *Petavius*, *Sandius*, and others, have so proclaim'd this, that I shall not spend my time upon it. But the same *Tertullian* (which they have generally conceal'd) doth often, and that no less plainly and expressly determine, that the Son is naturally equal to the Father. Thus, he says, that (a) the Father gave all things made by him to the Son †, who is not inferior to himself. *Sandius*'s Answer to this Place is more worthy Derision, than Refutation: For he makes a Difficulty where he finds none. The same *Tertullian* expressly saith, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are not only of one Substance, but of one Power also;

(a) P. 440. in fine.

† We have a critical Suspicion of Dr. Whitby's upon the Reading, but no Authority for altering it, except that then it better served the Doctor's Purpose. The Bishop's Reading has the Authority of the Ancients for it.

that

that all the Names and Attributes of the Father agree to the Son; and that the Son is equal to the Father; that the Father and Son are join'd, and equaliz'd. We have cited the express Places, which can't be eluded, in *Sett.* 2. *Ch.* 7. *N.* 4. To those you may add these: (b) *Tertullian* owns, as we have before observ'd, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are a Trinity of one Divinity. In these Words, it is certain *Tertullian* intended, that all the three Persons are absolutely in Nature equal. Thus he says against *Hermogenes*: Nor shall we border upon the *Gentile* Notions, which, when forc'd to confess a God, place other Gods below him. But Divinity hath no Degree, as being only one. And a little after, The Divinity can never be less than itself. Whence he expressly teaches, in the *same Book* (c), that God had his Wisdom coexisting with him from Eternity, as not being inferiour to him, or in State different from him. Here he therefore plainly concludes, that the Wisdom, or Son of God, is equal to God, whose the Wisdom is, because not in state different from him; that is, consubstantial with him. When therefore (d) *Tertullian* says, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three, not in State, but Degree; by Degree he means Order, and not a greater or less Divinity. For those whom he confesses to be three in Degree, he denies to be different in State. Now, as we have seen, when *Tertullian* says any thing is not in State different from another, he means the same as if he had said, It is not inferiour to it, but equal and alike. Upon which account he says, in the same place, a little after, that the three Persons of the Sacred Trinity are all of one Power, and consequently none of them more powerful, or excellent than another. Thus the Divinity has no Degree; that is, as *Tertullian* expressly interprets himself, is never inferiour to itself: But yet there are Degrees in the Divinity, that is, a certain

(b) P. 235. (c) p. 239. (d) p. 501.

Order of Persons, of which one takes his Original from another; so that the Father is the first Person existing of himself, the Son the second from the Father, and the Holy Ghost the third, who proceeds from the Father by the Son, or from the Father and the Son. Wherefore some Learned Men have unjustly charg'd *Tertullian* with the Heresy of *Apollinaris*, who made Steps or Degrees of Dignity in the Divine Persons; and, as *Theodoret* (e) reports, said, that there was in the Trinity, Great, Greater, and Greatest; as tho' the Spirit was great, the Son greater, and the Father greatest. But our very Learned Writer plainly rejected this Dotage. *Novatian*, or the Writer of the Book about the Trinity, inserted among *Tertullian's* Works, is of *Tertullian's* mind. For he, when he makes the Son less than the Father, so explains himself, as to refer this Inferiority to his Original only. His Words are *express* (f): It is necessary that the Son should be less than the Father, as knowing himself to be in him, having an Original, because he is born. As for the Divine Nature, the same Person expressly teaches, that the Father and Son are one. For explaining those Words of our Lord to the Jews, *I and the Father are one*, he writes thus (g): So as for the Crime of Blasphemy, he calls himself the Son, not the Father; but as to his Divinity, by saying * *I and the Father are one*, he hath prov'd, that he is the Son, and God. He is therefore God, but so God, as

(e) *Contra Hæres.* p. 107. (f) p. 729. (g) p. 722.

* It is perfectly nauseous to observe, how often some late Writers in this Controversy have mention'd other Interpretations of these Words from this Author, without any Limitation or Exception, or any regard to this. Where the Authors are voluminous, and the Passages widely distant, something may be said in excuse; but so often to cite an Author, all whose Writings don't make 30 entire Pages, and neglect to reconcile their Assertions from him, with other Passages which seem to enervate them, looks like writing for a Cause, rather than Truth. The Reader will do well to consult *Tertullian* also upon this Text, (*adv. Prax.* c. 22, &c.) and observe with what Candour and Ingenuity he is cited in the modest *Disquisitions*, p. 141.

that

that he is the Son, not the Father. The Sense of the Author is plain: Christ, in his Discourse to the *Jews*, preserv'd both the Pre-eminence of the Father, and also his true Divinity equal to the Father's; the one by owning the Father, and confessing himself the Son; the other, by saying that he and the Father are one. Hence the Author infers, that the Son is true God, as well as the Father, with this Difference only, that the one is the Father, the other the Son.

6. *Origen* (*b*) professedly defends the Prerogative of the Father compar'd to the Son: Grant, *says he*, that some in the *Multitude* of those that believe, and dissent from us, inconsiderately suppose that our Saviour is God over all; yet we don't think him such, who are persuaded by him, when he saith, *The Father that sent me is greater than I*. He lashes the *Noetians*, as I observ'd before, who said our Saviour was the very God the Father, who is called the Lord of all. Against them, he shews that our Saviour did so differ from the Father, as that he was in some Sense inferiour to him. And he gives us this Profession of his, as a common Doctrine of the Church, ranging those with the Heterodox who thought otherwise (*i*). A little after, when *Celsus* objects to the Christians as their common Sentiment, the Doctrine of *Marcion*, who taught that Jesus, who is from God the Father, is God Superiour to the Maker of the World, he thus answers: For we who say that the visible World is his who made all things, plainly affirm that the Son is not greater than the Father, but less. And this we say, persuaded by him who hath told us, *The Father that sent me is greater than I*. Lastly, the same *Origen* calls the Son the second God (*k*). This notwithstanding *Origen* in more places than one manifestly teaches, that the Son is equal to the Father. Thus, when the *Epicurean Celsus* palm'd this Sentiment upon the Christians, because (*l*) God is great, and not to

(*b*) p. 387. contra Celsum. (*i*) p. 388. (*k*) p. 258. (*l*) p. 323.

be beheld, having put his own Spirit into a Body like ours, he sent him hither, that we might hear and learn of him, he answers thus : The God of all, even the Father, is not great alone, as we think. For he hath communicated himself and his Greatness to the only Begotten, and first-born of every Creature, that he being the Image of the invisible God, might in Greatness also preserve the Image of the Father. For it was not possible, if I may so speak, that he should be a proportionate and true Image of the invisible God, if he did not represent the Image of his Greatness. Here you see that *Origen*, who elsewhere says that the Son is inferiour to the Father, expressly affirms, that the Father hath even communicated his Greatness to the Son, so that the Son is equal to his Father in Greatness. How will you reconcile these things? The Case is plain : The Son is inferiour to the Father, with respect to his Original ; but equal to the Father, as born of him, and having the same common Divine Nature with him. The Son is as great as God the Father ; but that he is so, is owing to the Father. Nay further, the same *Origen* (m) so calls the Son the second God, as to put in this express Caveat, That we are not to understand it of any Divine Perfection in the Father, and not in the Son. These are his Words : When we call him the second God, let them know, that by the second God we mean nothing else, but a Power comprehensive of all Powers. Immediately after, he calls the Divine Person of Christ, the very Word, the very Wisdom, and Righteousness. *Origen* then very clearly signifies, that he and other Catholick Christians, who called Christ the second God, never intended to ascribe to the Son an imperfect Divinity ; but, on the other hand, own'd, that the Son was so the second God, that he was very God, and not in any Perfection of the Divinity inferiour to the Supreme God, even the Father ; there-

(m) p. 258.

fore that he was in this sense only called the second God, as he was God of God, and originate of the Father. In a word, *Origen* called the Son second God no otherwise, than as *Basil* call'd the same Son second in Order from the Father. Whilst I read *Origen* thus speaking, how am I griev'd for those Calumniators, who have charg'd this Heresy upon the very Learned and Holy Father; namely, that the Son, compared with the Father, is a petty God! For without doubt there is scarce one of the Primitive Fathers who hath more openly rejected this Blasphemy.

7. *Dionysius Alexandr.* in his *Answers to the Queries* set after his Epistle to *Paulus Samosat.* thus brings in Christ, speaking out of the Prophet *Jeremy*: I Christ, a Person always existing, equal to the Father, as being in nothing unlike him. You may read the entire Place cited, SECT. III. Ch. 4. N. 3. Now what is clearer than these Words? He expressly says the Son is equal to the Father, and proves it, because he is in nothing unlike him; that is, hath the same Divine Nature in common with the Father. This is the very thing which we assert, that the ancient *Ante-Nicene* Doctors own'd the Son to be naturally equal to the Father. The same *Dionysius*, in the same *Answers*, says; He is the same to whom the Father subjected all things, † being not inferiour to the Father, he pray'd for us. Here he expressly denies that the Son is inferiour to the Father. Lastly, the same Person, in his Apology in *Athanasius*, confesses the Trinity indiminish'd. By this he can mean nothing else, than that the Divinity is not less in one Person than in another; but that there is in every Person an entire, full, and perfect Divinity. See the Place cited at large, SECT. II. Ch. 11. N. 5.

In like manner, the Creed of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* plainly proclaims a co-eternal and co-equal Trinity: For he clearly asserts a perfect Trinity, which is not

† Or, the not inferiour

divided, or separated in Glory, Government, and Empire. As for the Son in particular, the same Confession teaches, that God the Father is perfect Father of perfect; and then calls the Holy Ghost the perfect Image of the *perfect Son* (n). The same *Gregory*, in his Panegyricall Oration upon *Origen*, his genuine Work by the Confession of all Men, as he teaches, that the Son honours and praises the Father, (which shews the Pre-eminence of the Father, as Father, and the Dispensation undertaken by the Son) so he expressly says, that the Father hath honour'd the Son with a Power every way equal to his own, and circumscrib'd his infinite Majesty *in the Son* (o). The six Bishops, who wrote an Epistle to *Paulus Samosatenus* in the Name of the whole Synod of *Antioch*, are of this same Opinion. (p) These are their express Words concerning the Son of God in that Epistle: He is believ'd to be God by the whole Church under Heaven, having empty'd himself of his Equality to God, and to be Man of the Seed of *David*, according to the Flesh. Here they profess that they have deliver'd the Consent of the Catholick Church; and they plainly interpret the famous Place of *St. Paul* to the *Philippians* (q), as the present Catholicks do. Further, the very Creed of *Lucian Martyr*, the great Boast of the *Arians*, expressly teaches, that the Son is not only God of God, but Whole of Whole, and Perfect of Perfect; which Words absolutely exclude that partial and imperfect Divinity of the Son, of which the Hereticks dreamt (r). Lastly, The Sense of *Arnobius*, who very often proclaims the Son of God to be true and very God, is *express*: (s) God derived, as God, differs not at all from the other. Nor can that, which is one in kind, be more or less in its Parts, still supposing it to keep the Uniformity of its proper Quality. Therefore, according to *Arnobius*, the Son of God, as God, differs not at all

(n) Sect. II. ch. 12. n. 1.

(o) ————— n. 4. (p) Bibl. Pat. Tom. II. p. 300.

(q) c. 2. v. 6. (r) Sect. II. c. 13. n. 5. (s) Sect. III. c. 4. n. 9.

from God the Father ; nor is there more in the Son than in the Father, but in both the Divine Persons the Divinity is uniform ; that is, God the Father and the Son, are absolutely equal in Nature. *Arnobius* indeed was of *Tertullian's* Mind, That the Divinity has no degree, nor is ever less than itself. Yet the same *Arnobius*, in more Places than one, calls God the Father the Supreme God, in the Sense we have before explain'd.

8. Hitherto we have explain'd the Sense of the Antients in the three first Ages. We are now to shew that the Catholick Doctors, who wrote after the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy, and were constant Defenders of the Faith establish'd by the *Nicene* Fathers, agreed with them. *Alexander*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who first put a stop to the growing Impiety of *Arius*, in an Epistle * to his Name-lake of *Constantinople*, accurately explains the Catholick Doctrine of the Father's Pre-eminence over the Son in these Words (g), We must then take care to preserve to the unbegotten Father his proper Dignity, affirming, that no one is to Him the Cause of Existence. We must also give to the Son the Honour which suits him, namely, his beginningless Generation of the Father, and as we have said before, attribute Worship to him, and piously and religiously say, that he was, and always was, and before Ages ; not rejecting his Divinity, but always ascribing to him the Likeness strictly due to the Image and Character of the Father, esteeming it as the only

* Dr. Whitby tells us, That this *Alexander* in the beginning of the Dispute waverr'd, sometimes commending one Side, sometimes another ; but he says nothing of what follows immediately in the same Historian, that at last he got over his Difficulties, asserted the Consubstantiality and Coeternity of the Son, and excommunicated *Arius*, &c. for their Heresy. This unprejudic'd Behaviour, should rather recommend than depreciate the Doctrine he asserted. He also affirms, That this Epistle contains many things which shew he was not Orthodox. Those he instances in, are all agreeable to Antiquity, and the Bishop's Scheme ; and the Credit of this single Passage, is sufficient to prove it.

(g) Theodor. E. H. Lib. i. cap. 4. p. 18.

Pro-

Property or Peculiarity of the Father to be unbegotten ; forasmuch as our Saviour himself hath said, *My Father is greater than I*, the Words need no Comment. *Athanasius* (*b*) his Successor in the See of *Alexandria*, expounding the Words of our Saviour, *My Father is greater than I*, writes thus : The Son did not say, the Father is better than I, that no one might suppose him different in Nature from the Father ; but he said, He is greater, not in Majesty or Age, but upon account of his Generation of the Father.

9. The great *Basil* (*i*) explains the Matter in these Words clearly : Because the Son's Origin is from the Father, the Father is greater, as being the Cause, or Origin : for which cause the Lord says thus, *My Father is greater than I*, namely as Father. Now what does Father signify, but to be the Cause, or Origin of him that is begotten of him ? But even according to your wise Notions, Substance is by no means said to be greater or less than Substance. Again (*k*), The Son is indeed the second from the Father, in Order, because of him ; and in Dignity, because the Father is the Principle, and Cause of his Existence. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* (*l*) ; To be greater, respects Causality ; to be equal, Nature. And in the same Place, he refutes their Interpretation, who would have the Father said to be greater than the Son, as Man, with this excellent Reason ; For to say that he is greater than him, consider'd as Man, is true indeed, but not much ; for what wonder that God is greater than Man ? Lastly, He writes thus (*m*), That he is greater is not in Nature, but Causality ; for none of those things that are Consubstantial, are in Substance greater or less. Upon this Place, *Nicetas* observes thus ; Because the Son hath his Cause from the Father, the Father is greater, as being the Cause ; but the Essence of one, is not by any means greater or less than the

(*b*) Orat. 1. contra Arianos. (*i*) Tom. 1. p. 724. Lib. 1. contra Eunom. (*k*) Lib. 3. non longe ab initio. (*l*) Orat. 36. p. 582. (*m*) Orat. 40. p. 669.

Effence of another. *Chrysostom* says (n), But if any one shall say, that the Father is greater, as he is the Cause of the Son, we don't contradict it. So *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* (o) affirms, that the Father is said to be greater, as he is the Cause; these are his Words, The Son being equal to the Father in Substance, and like him in all things, says that He (the Father) is greater as being beginningless; whereas he (the Son) hath a Principle only in respect of Proceſſion, tho' he hath the ſame Exiſtence with him. Laſtly, *Joannes Damascenus* (p) ſaith, Now when we ſay that the Father is the Beginning or Principle of the Son, and greater than he, we don't mean that he is before him in Time or Nature (for by him he made the Ages) or any other way, than as being the Cause of him; that is, that the Son is of the Father, not the Father of the Son, and that the Father is the natural Cause of the Son.

10. We will now cite a few of the many Evidences among the *Latins*. What *Marius Victorinus* ſays for this Sentiment, we have told you before (q). *Hilary* interprets the Place of *St. John*, the Father is greater than I, nicely in theſe Words (r), Or is not the Father greater? yes, the Father is greater, as Father; but the Son is not leſs, as Son. The Nativity of the Son makes the Father greater, and the Nature of the Nativity ſuffers not the Son to be leſs. And a little before: The Father is therefore greater, plainly greater than the Son, to whom he granted that he ſhould be as great as he himſelf is; who by the Myſtery of his Nativity makes him the Image of Innateſcibility; whom he begets of himſelf in his own Form. Again (s), when it is ſaid they are in one another, underſtand the Divinity of God of God; when it is ſaid the Father is greater, underſtand the Confeſſion of the Father's Authority. The Author of the Queſtions in both Teſtaments, which is in the end of the

(n) Homil. 72. in Joan.

(o) In Theſauris, lib. 11. p. 85.

(p) De fide Orthod. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(q) The preceding Chapter.

(r) In nono Libro de Trin.

(s) Lib. 11.

fourth Tome of *Austine's* Works, says (t), He differs not at all in Substance, because a true Son; yet he differs in the Degree of Causality, because all Power in the Son is from the Father. The Son is not less in Substance; but the Father is greater in Authority. *Austine* himself also affirms, That the Father is not only greater than the Son, because of his assum'd humane Nature, but also his eternal Generation. Thus in his *Book* of the Faith and Creed (u), where he says, those Words of *John* are spoken partly because of his taking upon him humane Nature, and partly because the Son oweth what he is to the Father, even this, that he is equal to the Father. But whatever he is, the Father is oblig'd to no one for it. But why do I reckon up the Opinions of particular Doctors? The Catholick Council of *Sardica*, consisting of about 200 Eastern and Western Bishops, (250 according to *Theodoret*,) plainly deliver'd the same Doctrine in a Synodical Epistle. Nor does any one deny (say the Fathers) that the Father is greater than the Son, but not as of another Substance, or any other Difference, except that the Name of Father is greater than that of Son (w).

11. This therefore was the constant Opinion of Catholick Antiquity: That we must religiously preserve to God the Father his *proper Dignity*, as being only Unbegotten, but so, as that we must by no means destroy the true Divinity of the Son. Nay, it is for the Glory of God the Father that we think worthily of his Son; and on the other hand, he injures and disgraces the Father, who imagines that he hath begotten an imperfect Son, or determines, that any thing is diminish'd in the Divine Nature. The former, *Hilary* hath excellently explain'd in these Words (x): Being about to speak the absolute Majesty, and compleat Divinity of the only begotten Son of God, we don't suppose any one will think our Discourse con-

(t) *Quest.* 122.
cap. 8. p. 82.

(u) *Cap.* 9.
(x) *De Trin.* lib. 4.

(w) *Theodoret.* lib. 2.

tumelious to God the Father ; as tho' what was refer'd to the Son, was taking away from the Dignity of the Father ; since rather the Honour of the Son is the Honour of the Father, and he must be a glorious Author, from whom proceeded so glorious a Person : For the Son hath nothing but what is begotten, and the Admiration of the Honour begotten, must redound to the Honour of him that begat it. The Notion of Contumely ceases then, when whatsoever Majesty is taught to be in the Son shall redound to enlarge his Power, *shall tend to make his Power appear more glorious*, who begat such an one. *Zeno Veronensis*, or whoever is the Author of the Discourse ascrib'd to Zeno, upon these Words: *When he shall have deliver'd up the Kingdom to God, even the Father*, hath clear'd the latter as well (y) : The Father possesseth the whole, so doth the Son, what belongs to one, belongs to both ; what one possesses, is each one's ; as our Lord saith, *All things, whatsoever the Father hath, are mine* ; for the Father abideth in the Son, and the Son in the Father ; to whom he is gloriously subject in Affection, not Condition ; in Love, not Necessity ; by whom the Father is always honour'd. Lastly, He saith, *I and the Father are one*. Upon which account, as I said, the Son is subjected to the Father not in a diminutive, but religious Subjection ; for as much as one Possession of an original and perpetual Kingdom, one Substance of Coeternity and Omnipotence, one Equality, one Power of the august Majesty, one Dignity is retain'd in an united Light ; for if you take any thing from the Son, you'll injure the Father, whose Whole he hath ; nor is there any thing in him, which is inferior ; because as the Father, so he can neither have more nor less. The one is infus'd into the Fullness of the other ; so that the Blessed God is all in all, the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father with the Holy Spirit, *Amen*.

(y) Bibl. Patr. Tom. 2. Col. 424.

12. This famous Passage of *Zeno* puts me in mind of a remarkable Story in *Sozomen*, with which I will conclude this Chapter (z). When *Theodosius the Great* was Emperor, and came to see *Constantinople*, the Bishops who were in the City went to the Palace to salute him, according to Custom; amongst them, it is said, there was a certain old Man, the Bishop of an obscure City, plain indeed, and not well seen in Civil Affairs, but a good Divine. The other Bishops in a courtly and respectful manner complemented their Prince, so did the old Man also: however, he did not honour the Emperor's Son as the others had done; but approaching him as a Boy, said, God save thee, Son! and began to stroke him with his Hand. The Emperor was mov'd, and resenting it as an injury done to his Son, that he was not equally honour'd as himself, commanded the old Bishop to be expell'd with Disgrace. As they were removing him, he turn'd and said, Thus think, O King, that the Heavenly Father is angry at those who honour not the Son with equal Honour, and presumptuously say, that he is less than him, that begat him. In these Words the pious Man rubb'd the *Arians*, who were as yet numerous from the Favour shewn them by the Emperors *Constantius* and *Valens*, and very freely assembling together, discours'd concerning God and his Substance, and perswaded the Favourers of their Faith at Court to attempt the Emperor. The Emperor, struck with the Saying, call'd back the Bishop, and having ask'd his pardon, confess'd he had said true.

(z) *Sozom. lib. 7. chap. 6. p. 577.*





C H A P III.

A large Answer to the Objection, against what has been said in the former Chapter, taken from those Places of the Ancients, in which they seem to have denied the Immensity and Invisibilty of the Son of God.

THE Testimonies of the Antients, which we have mentioned in the former Chapter, concerning the absolute natural Equality of the Father and Son, saving to the Father, as Father, his Pre-eminence, are very clear. Now we have observed upon, and explain'd most of those Sayings of the Antients, which seem to contradict these, in the second Section, and the third, where we explain their Notion of the Eternity and Consubstantiality of the Son particularly. There is yet one Knot to be unty'd, and that very well worthy our Labour; which we have therefore reserv'd for this Place, because it is not in one, or two of the Primitive Fathers, but almost runs through all their Works. I confess I once stumbled at that Stone my self, and therefore think it my Duty to endeavour the removing it. The ancient Catholicks then, who were before *Arius*, seem almost all of them to have known nothing of the Son of God's invisible and immense Nature. For sometimes they so speak of the Son of God, as tho' he was in his Divine Nature finite, visible, included in some determinate Place, and circumscribed by certain Bounds. When they would prove that he, who formerly appear'd to the Patriarchs and Holy Men under the Old Testament, and spoke to them, being graced with the Title *Jehovah;*

hovah, was the very Son of God, they generally use this disjunctive Argument : That he who appeared, was either the Son of God, or a created Angel, or God the Father. That he was not a created Angel they conclude, because he is called by the Holy Spirit, *Jehovah* and God ; that it was not the Father they prove, because he is immense, filling all Places, included in none, and therefore it is impious to think that he appeared in some certain Place, and little Corner of the Earth ; as tho' it might be safely said of the Son of God. After the like manner the same Persons teach that the Son of God is visible.

2. Thus one of the most ancient Fathers, *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Trypho*. There when *Trypho* denies that the Angel which appeared to *Moses* in the burning Bush, was very God, and asserts that an Angel did indeed appear in a Flame of Fire, but that God, namely the Father, talk'd with *Moses*, so that there was in the Vision two, God and the Angel ; *Justin* answers thus, (a) Grant, my Friend, that this was done, namely, that both God and an Angel appeared to *Moses* in a Vision ; and not that it was as I have demonstrated to you before : yet that God was not the Maker of this Universe, who said to *Moses*, I am the God of *Abraham*, and of *Isaac*, and of *Jacob* ; but the same which I before shew'd to have been seen by *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, namely, he, who ministers to the Will of the Maker of all things, and who also minister'd to his Will and Purpose in the Judgment upon *Sodom*. So that, tho' it be as you affirm, that there were two, namely, God and an Angel, no wise Man will presume to say that the Author and Parent of all things left all his heavenly Mansions, and exhibited his Presence in a small part of the Earth. There is a parallel Place to this elsewhere in this Dialogue. *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath used the same way of reasoning (b). So *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, and the six Bishops, who

(a) P. 282. and 283.

(b) P. 100. Append. Justin.

wrote

wrote the Epistle from the Synod of *Antioch* to *Paulus Samosatenus*, as we shall cite them hereafter.

3. Of the *Latins*, *Tertullian* hath the same: (c) But how could he walk in Paradise in the Evening, seeking *Adam*, and shut the Ark after *Noah* was gone into it, and refresh himself with *Abraham* under the Oak, &c. who is the omnipotent invisible God, whom no Man hath seen, nor can see, who dwelleth in the Light, which is inaccessible, who dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands, at whose Sight the Earth trembles, the Mountains melt as Wax, who holdeth the whole World in his Hand, as a Nest, to whom the Heaven is a Throne, and the Earth a Footstool, in whom is all Place, and he not in any, who is the extreme Line of the Universe, and the most High? These things indeed could not have been believ'd of the Son of God, except they had been written; but are not to be believ'd of the Father tho' written, whom they bring down into *Mary's* Womb, set before *Pilate's* Tribunal, and seal up in *Joseph's* Tomb. The Error then appears to be from this; that being ignorant that the Order of Divine Dispensation did from the beginning pass thro' the Son; they believ'd that the Father appear'd, and conferr'd, and wrought, &c. *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book about the Trinity, among the Works of *Tertullian*, follows him in this, as in other Matters (d): But if the same *Moses* every where represents God the Father as Immense, Infinite, not included in Place, but who includes all Place, not in any Place, but rather all Place in him, containing and comprehending all things, so that he cannot properly ascend or descend, as containing and filling all things; and yet nevertheless introduces God descending to the Tower which the Sons of Men built, considering and saying, *Come and let us descend*, &c. What God would they have it to be that descended, and was about to visit those Men? God the Fa-

(c) Page 51c.

(d) P. 723.

ther? then he is included in Place, and then how does he comprehend all things? Or does he say, that an Angel descending with Angels spoke, *Come let us, &c.* But we observe in *Deuteronomy* that God said these things, &c. Therefore then the Father did not descend as the Case shews, nor did an Angel command or exhort, &c. as the thing proves. It remains then that he descended, of whom the Apostle *Paul* speaks, *He that descended, is the same that ascended, &c.* that is, the Son of God, the Word of God.

4. Who would not be amaz'd at these strange Sayings of the Antients? that they should be so dull and inconsistent, as to say, that the Son of God, whom in other Places they frequently call very God of very God, is circumscrib'd within the narrow Bounds of one small Place, and to believe him in his own Nature visible. Far be it from us, to think so of the greatest Men. You'll say then, what Remedy can you find for this Disease? I am clearly of Opinion that those Antients who spoke something harshly of this Matter, did not properly and justly express their otherwise true Sentiment. They had to deal with Adversaries, who positively deny'd, that the Father was personally distinct from the Son, and in the heat of Opposition, did not express themselves with due caution. Any one who will look into the Authors, will plainly see that this is the Case in those Sayings of *Justin, Tertullian, and Novatian*, which I have recited entire. These, as well as the other I have mention'd, meant no more by such Expressions, than that the Son of God, who is every where with his Father, and equally invisible as his Father, was by Dispensation seen in some certain Places, that is, shew'd himself to Men by certain external Symbols of his Presence, bringing to them the Will and Commands of God the Father. But you'll say, if these Fathers, tho' they affirm, and plainly enough hint, That the Son of God was some time shut up in the narrow Compass of a certain Place, and seen by Men, meant no more, than that he exhibited

hibited in certain Places some sensible Symbols or Tokens of his Presence, why do they so cautiously remove this Thing from God the Father as unworthy of him? For it seems that God the Father also might, without any diminution of his Majesty, have manifested himself to Men. I answer, the Primitive Doctors did not think so; for according to them, God the Father neither was, nor cou'd be seen by any one, even in assum'd Forms. He had no Beginning, was subject to none; nor cou'd any more be said to be sent of another, than born of another. On the other hand, the Son of God, as born of God the Father, does certainly upon that account owe all his Authority to the Father; nor is it less honourable to him to be sent by the Father, than to be born of him. He is of the Father, by him the Father made all things that are in the World, and afterwards, by him, communicated himself to the World. Tho' there is no disparity of Nature in the Holy Trinity between the Father and the Son, yet there is a certain Order, according to which, the Father is the Principle and Head of the Son. This Order wou'd be inverted, if the Administration was the Son's by the Father, not the Father's by the Son. To come nearer to the propos'd Objection: The primitive Fathers refer'd all those Apparitions formerly made to Holy Men, to the Dispensation of Man's Salvation, which Dispensation they thought the Son of God had undertaken, not then first, when he came in the Flesh, but from the very Fall of the first Man, as is before shewn: but they always thought that that very Dispensation was foreign to God the Father. The Catholick Church of Christ always acknowledged against the *Patristians*, that the Incarnation, which the Son underwent, did not become God the Father, for the same Reason for which the Antients asserted, That those Appearances did not belong to the Father, but the Son; namely, because they really were Preludes of the Incarnation. That this was the very meaning of the
An-

Antients, two Things prove; because they all elsewhere frequently confess, that the Son is in his Nature immense and invisible, as the Father; and because most of them do interpret these their Sayings expressly of the Dispensation. Now we will confirm our Answer, by particularly examining those Sayings of the Antients, which we have mention'd, and comparing them with other express Sayings of theirs.

5. *Justin Martyr*, who, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* contends, that the Person who appear'd to *Moses* in the Bush, was the Son of God, because it would be absurd to say, that God the Father appear'd in a little Corner of the Earth; as though it might, without Absurdity, be said of the Son of God: This *Justin* speaks elsewhere very honourably of that very Person. For, in his Exhortation to the *Greeks*, he writes thus: (a) For, I suppose, it was necessary that he who was to be the Prince and Leader of the *Hebrews*, should first know the God of all things. Wherefore having appear'd to him first, as far as it was possible for God to appear to Man, he said to him, *I am he that is*. The God then that appear'd to *Moses* in the burning Bush, appear'd not otherwise than became God, that is, not by passing from Place to Place, or so as to be included in the narrow Bounds of some Place; but he manifested himself to the Holy Prophet, by forming a visible Appearance, and an audible Voice. A little after he says, as we have noted before, that the Description, by which the Person appearing in the Bush signify'd himself to *Moses*, *I am he that is*, was suitable to God, who always exists. Now that *Justin* acknowledg'd the always existent God to be in his own Nature immense and invisible, no Man can doubt. Those things therefore which *Justin* hath elsewhere said concerning that divine Person which appear'd to *Moses*, that he appear'd as though included in a little Corner of the Earth, are

to be referr'd to the Dispensation I spoke of, which the Son undertook. The same *Justin* explains the Matter more clearly in the Apology commonly call'd the Second, where he again contends, (b) that it was our Saviour who talked with *Moses* out of the Bush, in the Appearance of Fire, saying, *Loose thy Shoes, come hither and hear.* And a little after, he clearly teaches, that Christ, in his own Person, said those Words; *I am he that is, the God of Abraham, &c.* (c) What is said to *Moses* out of the Bush, (says he) *I am he that is, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of thy Fathers,* is significative of this, That they, though dead, did remain, and belong'd to Christ. But what manner of Appearance could be suitable to the Son of God, if the always existent God, *the God of Abraham, &c.* which would not become the Father? *Justin* himself hath solv'd the Difficulty in the same place. For tho' Christ be the genuine Son of God, and always existent, and *the God of Abraham, &c.* as well as the Father; yet as *Justin* speaks, he is the Angel and Apostle of God the Father, appointed by the Father for this end, to tell Men his Will. Whilst he doth this Office, he doth nothing unworthy himself; nor, as I before said, is it less honourable to be sent of the Father, than to be born of him. The Words of *Justin* are (d), The Word of God is his Son, as we have said before, and he is call'd Angel and Apostle. For he tells us what is proper to be known, and is sent to shew us what is told. Now that all these things belong to that Dispensation, which the Son of God undertook from the Rise of the Church, and at length compleated by his Incarnation, the blessed Martyr plainly signifies a little after. This (e) Discourse is to shew that Christ is the Son of God, and his Apostle, being *before*, the Word, and sometime seen in an Appearance of Fire, sometime in the Image of incor-

(b) Pag. 95. (c) p. 96. (d) p. 95. (e) p. 96.

poreal Things; but *now*, by the Will of God, being made Man for the sake of Mankind. To the same purpose *Justin*, in the Dialogue with *Trypho*, after he hath enumerated the Titles given our Saviour in Scripture, namely, the Glory of the Lord, the Son, the Wisdom, the Angel, God, Lord and Word, immediately adds, (f) He is to be call'd by all these Names from his ministring to the Father's Will, and being freely born of the Father. Now, without doubt, he referr'd the Name Angel to his ministring to the Father's Will; as he did the other Appellations, Glory of the Lord, Son, Wisdom, Word, to the Divine Generation of the Father. Moreover, it is manifest, *Justin* acknowledg'd the Omnipresence of the Son of God, both from other Places, and also from these express Words in his Apology, commonly call'd *the First*: (g) The Word was and is existent in all, &c. There he teaches that the Word, also call'd the Son of God, does, as it were, penetrate and pervade the whole Compass of the Creation, and is present in all things; and therefore can't be confin'd in any Place, much less in a little Corner of the Earth. In the same Sense, the Father himself is in Scripture (h) said to be *through all*, and in all. The same *Justin* thought that the Son of God, as most properly such, was not the Object of Sight, nor could be comprehended by the Mind of Men or Angels: for in a remarkable Place, which I have before cited from the Epistle to *Diognetus*, he calls the Son of God the holy and incomprehensible Word and Truth (i). Thus much for *Justin*.

6. From *Irenaeus*, the Matter will yet be clearer. (k) The Word (says he) was made the Dispenser of the Father's Grace, for the Benefit of Men, for whom he made such glorious Dispositions, shewing God to Man, and Man to God; and preserving the

(f) Pag. 284. (g) p. 48 and 49. (h) Eph. iv. 6. (i) Sect. 2. Ch. 4. n. 7. (k) p. 371.

Invisibility of the Father, that Man should not despise God, and should always have something to attain to ; but shewing God visible to Men by many Dispositions, lest Man wholly going off from God, should cease to be. In these Words, he teaches us, as *Petavius* himself has observ'd, that the Father never appear'd, nor was so much as disguis'd under some outward Shape : but that the Word shew'd himself to the Antients, not in himself, not in his proper Substance, but under some Likeness. I add, that *Irenæus* doth here expressly say, that in all the Manifestations of God the Father by his Word, the Word was the Dispenser of the Father's Grace, for the Benefit of Man ; that is, that all the Appearances of the Son of God belong (as I have said) to that Dispensation, which he took upon him from the Beginning, for the Salvation of Men. We have a Place parallel to this in the same Chapter : (a) 'Therefore if neither *Moses* saw God, nor *Elias*, nor *Ezekiel*, who saw many heavenly Visions ; and if those things which were seen by them, were Likenesses of the Lord's Glory, and Prophecies of what was to come ; it is manifest the Father is invisible, of whom the Lord also said, *No one hath seen God at any time* ; but his Word, according to his Pleasure, hath shew'd the Glory of the Father, to the Advantage of those that behold him, and laid open his Dispositions ; as also the Lord hath said, The only begotten, who is in the Bosom of the Father, hath declar'd, &c. And in another place *Irenæus* expressly tells us, (b) 'That all those Appearances of the Son of God under the Old Testament, were Preludes, and, as it were, Specimens of the future Incarnation, and had all of them a View to the Œconomy of our Salvation, which the Son had undertaken : It is he who says to *Moses*, *I have surely seen the Vexation of my People in Egypt, and am come down to deliver them*. The Word of God being accustom'd from the Beginning to ascend and

(a) Pag. 372. (b) p. 344.

descend, for the help of those who were in Trouble. But then *Irenæus* plainly asserts, that the Son of God is, in his own Nature, invisible as well as the Father. (a) For he says, we are taught by the Christian Religion, that there is one God, who is above all Principality and Dominion, and Power, and every Name that is named; and that his Word is naturally invisible, but was made visible and palpable among Men, and descended even to Death, the Death of the Cross. Here also *Irenæus* (which, perhaps, is worthy our Notice by the way) in these Words, [the Word naturally invisible, but made visible and palpable among Men, and descended to Death] seems to me to have in his Eye a remarkable Passage in the Epistle of *Ignatius* to *Polycarp*, *Irenæus's* Master; in which the Apostolical Man calls Christ the Son of God invisible, but visible for our sakes, impalpable, and impassible, but passible for our sakes. See the entire Place, Sect. 3. Chap. 1. n. 3. Again, *Irenæus* (b) explains the whole Matter clearly, and teaches that the Father and Son are indeed equally incomprehensible by the Creatures, and equally comprehensible by one another; yet that all the Manifestation of the Father is made by the Son, and therefore that the Father sends, and the Son is sent: These are the Words, But since the only begotten Son came to us (*contracting his own Substance into himself*) from the One God, who made this World, form'd us, contains and administers all things, I have a strong Faith in him, and an immoveable Love towards the Father, God giving me both. For no one can know the Father, but by the Revelation of the Word, that is, the Son of God; nor the Son, but by the Good Pleasure of the Father. Now the Son fulfils the Good Pleasure of the Father: For the Father sends, and the Son is sent. And his own Word knows the Father, who is indeed invisible, and infinite as to us: Tho' he is not to be declar'd [by us]

(a) Page 379. (b) p. 330.

he declares him to us. Again, the Father alone knows his Word. Now the Lord hath shewn that both these things are thus; and for this Reason, the Son declares the Knowledge of the Father, by the Manifestation of himself. For the Knowledge of the Father is the Manifestation of the Son; for all things are manifested by the Word. These things sufficiently prove that *Irenæus* was sound and catholick.

7. What *Clement of Alexandr.* has discours'd upon this Matter, is clearer than the Light. For he joins the Immensity and Omnipresence of the Son of God with the OEconomy undertaken by him in this very notable Passage: (c) The Son of God is never out of his Watch-Tower. Not divided, or sever'd, not passing from place to place; but being always every where, and not circumscribed, all Mind, all paternal Light, all Eye, seeing all things, hearing all things, knowing all things, by his Power searching all Powers. To him all the Host of Angels and Gods is subject, to the paternal Word, who hath undertaken the Dispensation because of him who subjected. Observe! He clearly teaches, that the Word, or Son of God, is not divided, or sever'd, passes not from place to place, is always every where, and no where circumscrib'd. Nevertheless, he allows that the very Son of God undertook the Holy Dispensation laid upon him by God the Father; namely, then under the Old Testament, when he appear'd to the Prophets, and Holy Men, in the disguise, either of a Man, or some other corporeal Thing; then especially under the New, when, having taken very Man into the Unity of his Person, he conversed with Men upon Earth. Sure nothing can be more express than this. That shameless Scribbler *Sandius* (d) impudently denies, contrary to the Faith of all Copies, that *Clement* wrote thus: but he is fitter to be hiss'd than answer'd.

(c) Page 505, &c. (d) Append. ad Nucl. p. 99.

8. *Tertullian*, who told us *before*, That it was the Son, not the Father, who formerly appear'd to Holy Men, and in the Fulness of Time was incarnate, because the Father is invisible, and not to be included in Place: The same (e) *afterward* expressly tells us, That it is not to be understood of a Disparity of Nature in the Father, and the Son, since they are mutually inseparable, both equally immense, and omnipresent; but of the *OEconomy*, which the Son, not the Father, undertook. For thus he writes upon that Place, in the 17th Chapter of *St. Matthew*: You have the Son on Earth, the Father in him; this is not a Separation, but a Divine Disposition. But you are to know that God is in the Abysses, is every where by his Force and Power; that the Son also, as indivisible, is every where with him. Notwithstanding in the *OEconomy* the Father would have the Son on Earth, himself in Heaven, to which Place the Son looking up, pray'd and begg'd of the Father; whither he hath also taught us to lift ourselves up, and to pray, *Our Father, which art in Heaven*, whereas he is also every where. The Reason is the same of the Divine *OEconomy* before the Incarnation, even of all the Appearances under the Old Testament. For as *Tertullian* hath excellently told us *before*, all the Order of the Divine *OEconomy*, from the Beginning, passes through the Son. In like manner *Novatian*, (as before) when he had prov'd that it was the Son, who came down to the Tower of *Babel*, &c. for this reason, that God the Father was immense, and not included in Place, as tho the Son was not also immense and omnipresent; yet in another place, in the same Book, he expressly attributes to the Son of God that Immensity and Omnipresence which is proper to the Divine Nature. (f) For he thus maintains the true Divinity of the Son against Hereticks: If Christ is only Man, how is he present every where, when invoc'd, since it is not the

(e) Page 513 and 514. (f) p. 717. (g) p. 724.

Nature of Man, but of God, to be every where? How then are these Appearances of God to Holy Men in former Times to be thought compatible with the Son, not the Father also? The *Author* himself, I think, hath clearly taken away that Difficulty, where he thus discourses concerning the Angel which appear'd to *Sarah's* Maid: (a) Let the Hereticks consider what they will say to the Place before us: Was it the Father who was seen by *Agar*, or not? For it is said, God. Far be it from us to say the Angel is God the Father, lest he, whose the Angel is, be subject to another. But they'll say it was an Angel. How then God, if an Angel, since that Name is not ever allow'd to Angels? The Truth which lies on both sides concludes us in this Opinion, that we are to understand it to be the Son of God; who, as of God, is justly call'd God, because the Son of God; and as subject to God, and the Preacher of the Father's Will, is call'd the Angel of the Great Counsel. The Sum is this: He who appear'd to *Agar*, was either a created Angel, or an uncreated God. He proves he was no Angel, because call'd God and *Jehovah*, an incommunicable Name, and never given any Creature, not even to Angels, the supreme Order of Creatures. It is plain then, that it was the true God; but, if I may so speak, what God? The Father, or the Son? That it was not the Father, he proves, because the Name of an Angel suggests Mission from another, and consequently a certain Subjection; but God the Father is subject to none, as being of himself. It remains therefore, that he who appear'd be the Son of God; who is subject to the Father, as having his Original from him, and to whom the Office of an Angel, or Preacher of the Father's Will, is not unbecoming. In a word, God the Father could not be an Angel, and preserve his Pre-eminence as Father; for then he would have been sent by another,

(a) Page 724.

who hath no Dependence upon another : But to the Son of God, the Name God truly agrees, as being very God ; and the Name Angel, as being so true God, as to be God of God, and therefore capable to receive and undertake from God, of whom he is, the Mission or Oeconomy committed, without Injury to the Dignity of his Person. This very thing was, no doubt, intended by the Fathers, who wrote the Synodical Epistle from the Council of *Antioch* to *Paul* of *Samosata*. They contend that the Son is he, who every now and then appear'd to and conferr'd with the Fathers under the Old Testament : Sometimes attested as an Angel, sometimes as Lord, and sometimes as God. For believe, it is impious to call the God of the Universe an Angel, but the Son is the Angel of the Father, tho' himself Lord and God. For it is written, *The Angel of the Great Counsel*. Where the Holy Prelates clearly teach, that the Titles of *God* and *Lord* agree to the Father, and consequently to the Son ; but that the Title of *Angel*, as signifying a Mission from another, does by no means agree to the Father, who can no more be said to be sent by another, than to be born of another ; but may be rightly attributed to the Son, who is begotten of the Father, who is therefore in Scripture call'd the Angel of the *Great Counsel*.

9. *Tertullian* (a) is to be expounded after the same manner, where he distinguishes the Son from the Father, because he is visible, but the Father invisible. In this also *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity, imitates him. Can any one suspect that *Tertullian*, and his Ape (no Fools) believed the Son of God, as God, and born of the invisible God, to be visible? Without doubt they said the Son was visible, not in his own Nature, but according to the Oeconomy before explain'd, in which he sometimes from the Beginning shew'd himself to

(a) Page 508.

Men by certain external and visible Symbols of his Presence. If you question this, hear *Tertullian*, in the same Book and Chapter, very express in explaining himself: For we say that the Son is upon his own account so far invisible, as he is the Word and Spirit of God from the *Condition* [or *Nature*] of his Substance, even as he is God, and the Word and Spirit; but that before he was incarnate, he was visible after the manner he speaks of, to *Aaron* and *Miriam*: *And if there be a Prophet among you, I will be known to him in a Vision*, &c. What can be clearer? *Sandius* then and others, may be ashamed so confidently to fix upon *Tertullian* this absurd Opinion, that he believ'd the Word and Son of God to be in his own Nature finite and visible. For, if they had ever attentively read that Book of *Tertullian*, from which they gather'd it, they could not but know that the learned Writer rejected it in so many Words. If they knew this, and yet would palm it upon *Tertullian*, what are they to be accounted but Sophisters and Prevaricators? But if they never read the Book, or never read it with Attention, sure they are very rash Persons, from such slender Grounds to say what *Tertullian's* Opinion was.

10. I come at length to *Origen*. He teaches that God the Father condescended to Men, not locally, but providentially; the Son locally, in former Days, in feign'd or assum'd Shapes; in the last Times having put on real Man: but yet so as that he was never included in Place, but was and is always every-where, as well as the Father. These are his Words: (a) God therefore, according to his Goodness, condescends to Men, not locally, but providentially. And the Son of God was not then only, but is always with his own Disciples, fulfilling that which he said, *Behold, I am with you alway, to the end of the World*. If a Branch can't bring forth Fruit, except it remain in the Vine,

(a) Page 239. contra Cels.

neither can the Disciples of the Word, the spiritual Branches of the true Vine, the Word, bring forth the Fruit of Virtue, unless they abide in the true Vine, the Christ of God, who was locally with us here below, upon Earth; who is with those who every where adhere to him, yea, and with those also every where, who don't know him. This *John* tells us in his Gospel, in the Person of *John* the Baptist, who said, *He stands in the midst of you, whom ye know not; it is he who cometh after me.* From this he immediately infers, that Prayers and Vows are not to be made to the Sun, Moon and Stars, but to God the Father and the Son, who are every-where present. So Book the Second, (a) he proves by Testimonies of Scripture, that the Son of God is not circumscrib'd in the Body he hath assum'd, but is every-where. And he very clearly reconciles the Descents of the Son of God to Men, with his Immensity and Omnipresence, *Book 4.* where, when *Celsus* objects against the Incarnation of the Son of God, that if God descends to Men, it is to be fear'd he leaves his Throne, he thus answers, (not in his own name only, but in the name of all Christians) (b) For he knew not the Power of God, and that the Spirit of the Lord fill'd the World, and that he who comprehendeth all things, *hath Knowledge of the Voice.* Nor can he understand this: *Don't I fill Heaven and Earth, saith the Lord?* Neither doth he consider, that according to the Christian Word, we all live, and move, and exist in him; as also *St. Paul* taught in his Sermon to the *Athenians*. Therefore though the God of all things doth by his Power descend with Jesus for the Life of Man; tho' he, who in the Beginning was the Word with God, who also was God, comes to us, he is not out of his Seat, he hath not left his Throne, as though any Place could be empty of him, and another full, which had him not before. For the Power and Deity of

(a) Pag. 63. contra Cels.

(b) p. 164.

God *goeth* as it pleaseth, and where it findeth room, not changing the Place, nor leaving the Room empty of *him*, and *filling another*. Can *Sandius* say, as he did just now of *Clement*, that these Words are supposititious, and not written by *Origen*? He may, if he pleases; but no Man, in his Senses, will pay any Regard to the rash Creature's Opinion: especially when it appears that *Origen* delivers the same Doctrine in this very Book, and in *many other Places*. (a) Let the Wretch at length learn from *Origen*, whom he especially, but erroneously admires, and cites, as of *Arius*'s Opinion, his own Ignorance; who professes he never can think, that the Son of God descended to the Earth, without going from place to place: so that even then, when he was made Man, and convers'd with Men, he was present in Heaven, yea, everywhere; and condemns the Opinion as wicked and blasphemous. The holy Man truly has in the Person of *Celsus*, the *Epicurean*, pronounc'd him wholly ignorant of the divine Power.

II. I will add this by way of Appendix: It is very probable, that from the Words of Christian Writers, who taught that the Appearances of God, mention'd in the Old Testament, are not to be understood of the Father, whom no Man can see; but ought to be referr'd to the Son, and that the Incarnation agreed to the Son, not the Father: I say from these, not rightly understood, it is very probable *Celsus* took an handle to object to the Christians, as though they taught that God the Father, himself great, and *invisible*, or *difficult to be contemplated*, sent his Son, made visible, or *visible*, or *easy to be contemplated*, to Men. This we have observ'd *before* of him, and have given part of *Origen*'s Answer to it. The other part is also very apposite, for thus he proceeds: (b) Grant then that God is difficult to be contemplated; but he alone is not difficult to be contemplated: His only begot-

(a) Pag. 168, 169, 170. 324, 325. (b) p. 323.

ten is likewise so. For God the Word is also difficult to be contemplated, and so is his Wisdom, by which he made all things. Who can particularly contemplate the Wisdom by which God made every thing? Therefore God did not send his Son, a God easy to be contemplated, because he was difficult; as *Celsus*, not understanding our Meaning, hath said for us;—but, as we have reply'd, though the Son, as God the Word, by whom all things were made, was difficult to be contemplated, yet he dwelt among us. In these Words *Origen* again professes, in the name of all Christians, that the Father did not therefore send the Son into the World, because he was easier to be contemplated, for both are alike incomprehensible, as he hath elsewhere inform'd us. For what Cause did he send him? For that which we have told you before, namely, because God the Father, being of himself, could not be sent by any one; but it would not be unbecoming the Son of God, begotten of the Father, to be sent by him. I must here, by way of Digression, observe to the Reader, not much vers'd in the Writings of the Antients, that in these Words [the Wisdom also is difficult to be contemplated] by Wisdom is denoted the Holy Spirit. This we have before taken notice of in *Theophilus Antiochenus* and *Irenæus*. *Petavius* thus discourses of the Causes why the Antients have used this way of speaking: (b) They are therefore to be thought to call the Holy Spirit Wisdom, because the Gift of Wisdom is diffus'd from him among Angels and Men; as the *Logos* is therefore said to be so call'd, *because it makes them rational*. Thus because that excellent, and heavenly Gift of Wisdom, as it is a Gift, and communicated to us by God, with singular Love and Goodness, is the proper Efficiency of the Holy Spirit; therefore the Fountain of Wisdom, as of all other Gifts, is sometimes figuratively call'd by the very Name Wis-

(b) De Trin. Lib. 7. chap. 12. n. 17.

dom. There may be other Reasons for this Appellation, namely, because the Wisdom, which is the Gift of God, and is opposed to human Wisdom, such as the *Gentile* Philosophers had, is join'd with the Love of God, and Charity, as *St. Thomas* says. Wherefore the Holy Spirit may as truly be call'd Wisdom, as Love or Charity. But if you consider Wisdom in its Nature and Property, as it relates to the Understanding, and is a kind of Knowledge, the Title is peculiar to the Son and Word of God; but not to the Spirit, except extrinsically; and, if I may so say, causatively. Moreover, those other Words of *Origen* may deserve our Observation, namely, God difficult to be contemplated,—the Word difficult to be contemplated;—so also Wisdom difficult to be contemplated; as being exactly parallel to those Words of the Creed, commonly call'd *Athanasian*, The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible. But to return.

12. From what has been said, it is very clear, that the Doctors of the Church, who wrote before the Rise of Arianism, and argue that it was not God the Father, but the Son, who appear'd under the Old Testament, and was in the Fulness of Time incarnate; that the Father is immense, not included in Place, and invisible, not possible to be seen by any one; did never intend to deny that the Son of God was equally immense and invisible: but only design'd to signify that all the Appearances, and the Incarnation respected the Oeconomy which the Son of God took upon him; which Oeconomy was by no means proper to the Father, as being of himself, and oblig'd to no one for his Authority. We will now shew, that most of the *Post-Nicene* Catholick Fathers agreed with them in this Sentiment. We have before clearly prov'd that *Eusebius* was a Catholick, by Citations from him. Now he, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, (a Work he publish'd after all his other Writings, and even after the *Nicene Council*) thus proves that the

Angel worshipp'd by *Abraham*, as God and Judge of all, was not the Father, but the Son (c): If it is against Reason, that the uncreate and immutable Nature of God Almighty should put on the Appearance of Man; or that he should deceive the Eyes of the Beholders with a Phantom, or that the Scriptures should forge such things; who else can it be said that the God and Lord, who judges the whole Earth, and doth Judgment, and appear'd in a human Shape, is, (if we are not to say it is the first Cause of all things) but his Word only who pre-existed? Thus he hath also reason'd in his *Evangelical Demonstration* (d). For these, and such like Sayings, the Jesuit *Petavius* hath made no scruple of calling the venerable and well-deserving Prelate impious and profane; tho' surely not ignorant that *Eusebius* never intended that Sense, which the Words at first sight seem to exhibit; namely, That the Son of God, who formerly appear'd in a visible Shape, was indeed of a Nature different from the Father, finite and mutable; nay, more, was actually chang'd in those Appearances. For *Eusebius* hath plainly rejected that Doctrine in an hundred places; (of which *Petavius* himself hath cited one) yea, he expressly teaches that the Word of God, after he had taken real Man into the Unity of his Person, remain'd God immutable, immense, and omnipresent. These are his Words: (e) *And these things* he did, ministering to the Father's Counsels, still remaining immaterial, as he was before with the Father, not changing his Substance, not losing his Nature, not confin'd by the Bonds of the Flesh, nor only being there, where the human Vessel was, and absolutely hinder'd from being in other Places: But even then, when he liv'd among Men, he fill'd all things, he was with the Father, and in him. He then had all things in Heaven and Earth in his Care, being by no means excluded from being every-where, as we are. And a little after, *He was not*

(c) Lib. 1. chap. 2. p. 4. (d) Lib. 3. p. 147. (e) p. 537. E. H.

polluted, when his Body was begotten ; nor, being impassible, did he suffer, when it was violently separated from him. What can be more Catholick ? Without doubt therefore *Eusebius* intended nothing else in the Places afore-cited (unless we would call the learned Man, as *Petavius* does, a dull Fellow) than the Fathers before him, whose Opinion we have before explain'd, namely, that the Oeconomy did not agree with God the Father, being unbegotten, either so as that he should be sent by another, or so, as that he should appear in feign'd Shapes ; but that it was not unbecoming the Son of God, by the Will of the Father, of whom he was born, to undertake that Oeconomy ; and for that reason, not the Father, but the Son shew'd himself formerly to the Patriarchs in the Shape of a Man ; as in these last Times, not the Father, but the Son, took real and very Man into the Unity of his Person. But to proceed from *Eusebius* to the other confessedly Catholick Fathers.

13. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, (a) thinks that to be the Son, which *Isaiah* beheld sitting upon a Throne : No Man (says he) *hath seen the Father at any time* ; he then who appear'd to the Prophet, was the Son. *Basil* (b) proves it was the Son who appear'd to *Moses* in the Bush, because it is written, that the Angel of the Lord appear'd in the Bush, and because that very Angel afterwards said, *I am that I am*. Hence he argues thus : *Who then is this Angel and God ?* Is it not he, of whom we are inform'd, his Name is call'd the Angel of the *Great Counsel* ? *Basil* then thought, as the Antients before-mention'd, namely, that the Name of God did equally belong to the Father and the Son ; that the Name of Angel did not, being proper to the Son, who was in every Age sent by the Father, and discover'd his Will to Men. A little after, in the same place, *Basil* thus concludes : *It is then manifest* to every one, that where the same Person is call'd Angel and God, the only begotten is meant, who

(a) *In Catechesi* 14.

(b) 1638. Ed. Par. p. 742.

manifested himself in the Ages to Men, and told his Saints the Will of the Father. *Theodore* also proves that the Father (a) is invisible, and shews that he neither is, nor can be seen. And in the fifth Question upon *Exodus*, (b) he contends, that it was not the Father who appear'd to *Moses* in the Bush, and said he was God; for he can't be the Messenger of any one: but the Son, which Son also is not an inferior Minister, or Servant.

14. Of the *Latin* Fathers, we cite these Evidences. *Hilary*, (c) an holy Man, and a very severe Adversary of Arianism, very often and expressly delivers the same Doctrine. Thus he proves the Angel, who appear'd to *Agar*, the Son of God, because he is call'd both God and Lord, and the Angel of God; but both those Names can't properly be given to any one but the Son of God, who alone is in his own Nature God, and in his Office and Dispensation the Angel of God, *i. e.* the Preacher of the Father's Will. Now this Function is not unbecoming him, as he hath his Original from the Father. For, among other things, he writes thus in the same place: He who is call'd the Angel of God, is also God and Lord; but according to the Prophet, the Son of God is the Angel of the *Great Counsel*. That the Distinction of Persons might be absolute, he is call'd the Angel of God; for he who is God of God is the Angel of God. But that he might have his due Honour, he is proclaim'd God and Lord. Hence also, about the end of the same Book, he contends, that the Son alone was seen by Men, but that the Father was invisible. For upon the Place of *Jeremy*, he writes thus: You have then God seen upon Earth, and conversing with Men. I ask how you think these Words are to be understood; *No Man hath seen God at any time, but the only begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father*; since *Jeremy*

(a) In 5. adv. Hæres. c. 1.

(b) In Quæst. 5. in *Exod.*

(c) In Lib. 4. de Trin.

proclaims him God, who was seen upon Earth, and conversed with Men? The Father, no doubt, is not to be seen by any but the Son. Who then was he, who was seen and convers'd among Men? Certainly our God, the God visible among Men, and handled by them. And a little after: He was seen upon Earth, and convers'd with Men. For there is one Mediator of God and Men, who is God and Man; and the Mediator both *under the Law*, and also when he took Flesh upon him—He alone was born God of God, by whom all things in Heaven and Earth were made, by whom the Times and Ages were made. All that is, is of his making. It is he then alone who promis'd to *Abraham*, who spake to *Moses*, who testify'd to *Israel*, who dwelt in the Prophets, was born by the Virgin of the Holy Spirit, &c. Here, by the way, it is to be observ'd against *Bellarmino*, and other Popish Writers, that *Hilary* expressly affirms (what the Antients, it is plain, generally taught) that our Saviour was Mediator under the Law, and before his Incarnation; and therefore not only Mediator in respect of the human Nature, which he had not then assum'd; a thing they have eagerly contended for. Further, the *same Person*, speaking of the Angel again (a) which appear'd to *Agar*, says: The Angel of God speaks to *Agar*, and the same Angel is God. But perhaps he therefore is not true God, because the Angel of God: For that seems to be a Name of an inferior Nature, and where the Name is of another kind, there it is thought the Substance is not of the same kind. The former Book hath indeed shewn the Vanity of this Question; for in the Name Angel is rather the Idea of the Office than the Nature. And a little after: The Law therefore, or rather God by the Law, willing to signify the Person of the Father, call'd the Son of God the Angel of God, *i. e.* the Messenger of God. He in-

(a) *In Lib. 5. de Trin.*

timates to us his Office, when he calls him Messenger; but the Reality of his Nature, when he calls him God. This then is the Order of the Dispensation, not of the Nature; for we preach no other than the Father and the Son, and we so equalize the Nature of the Names, as that the Nativity of the only begotten God of the unbegotten God hath the Reality or Verity of God. The Sense of the Person that sends, and the Person that is sent, is no other than of Father and Son; and it does not take away the Reality of the Nature, or destroy the Propriety of the native Divinity in the Son. Lastly, the same Person speaks thus of the God seen by *Isaiah*: For *Isaiah* saw God; and though it is written, *No one hath seen God at any time, but the only begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father, he hath declar'd him*; yet the Prophet saw God, and so beheld his Glory, as it was thought even the Dignity of a Prophet was not admitted to see it; for he was put to death for it by the *Jews*. The only begotten then, who is in the Bosom of the Father, hath declar'd the God, whom no one hath seen. And a little after, (a) The Prophet says, the Gospel witnesses, the Church confesses, that he is true God, who is seen; and yet no one allows that the Father is seen. Here he asserts this Doctrine, That the Father was never seen to any one, to be so Catholick in his Age, that no Catholick durst then defend the contrary Opinion.

15. Even *Austin* concludes from these Words of *John*, (b) *No one hath seen God at any time, the only begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father, he hath declar'd him*; That the Son of God, who is the Word of God, not only brought Tidings of the Father in the last times, when he vouchsaf'd to appear in the Flesh, but also discover'd him before from the Constitution of the World, to whom he would, either by speaking, or appearing, either as some Angelical

(a) *Ibid.* p. 58.

(b) *In Lib. cont. Adim.* cap. 9.

Power, or some other Creature. Which Conclusion is of no force, unless it be taken for granted, that the Sense of the Evangelist's Words are, that God the Father himself never shew'd himself to any one. Therefore *Austin* contradicts himself, as he often does, and says that, which *Hilary* affirms, he thought no Catholic durst say, when in *another place* he speaks thus: (a) That it is too rash to say, that God the Father never appear'd in any visible Shapes to the Fathers or Prophets. This Saying of *Austin's*, *Petavius* rashly approves as certain. Under the New Testament indeed we know that God the Father hath spoke to Men, as in the Baptism of Christ, and at his Transfiguration, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*; and in that Voice, *I have both glorify'd, and will again glorify*. From these Places of Scripture, *Petavius*, desirous to prove *Austin's* Assertion, namely, that God the Father had sometime appear'd to the Prophets, argues thus: For it is not more unworthy that supreme and most excellent Majesty of God, to make himself after some sort heard by Men, by some sensible Means, than to make himself visible to them by the temporary Use of some corporeal Shape. Here must be a false Print; *It is not more unworthy*: The Jesuit, I suppose, wrote, or should have wrote, *It is not more worthy*; otherwise the Reasoning is very loose. But I say, that is not so certain, as *Petavius* thought; for according to the Opinion of the Antients, as I have often said, those Appearances of God in some visible corporeal Shape, were Preludes and Figures of the future Incarnation, which did no way agree to the Father. But grant it certain, the Places cited are impertinent; for *Austin*, whose Defence *Petavius* undertakes, hath expressly spoken of the Appearances of God formerly made to the Fathers, and the Prophets under the Old Testament. Besides it was extraordinary, and also necessary to

(a) In Lib 2. de Trin. chap. 17.

confirm the Mission of the Son from the Father, who appear'd now upon Earth as a mere Man, that the Father should pronounce such words of his Son: But this by the way. Further, whereas those Appearances of God under the Old Testament regarded the Mission of the one by the other, and the Function committed by one to the other, upon which account generally he that appeared, was not only called God, but also Angel, that is, sent; *Austin* himself plainly confesses that Mission does not agree to God the Father. For in the fourth Book of the Trinity he writes thus: (a) As therefore the Father begat, and the Son is begotten; so the Father sent, and the Son is sent. Again, As to be begotten, is to the Son the same as to exist from the Father; so to be sent, is to the Son the same as to be known to be of, or from him. And in the end of the same fourth Book he asserts it very absurd to say, that the Father is sent by the Son whom he begat, or by the Holy Spirit, who proceeded from him; tho he is pleas'd visibly to appear by a Creature subject to him. But he speaks the most clearly in these Words: (b) The Father alone is not said to be sent, because he hath no Author, of whom he was begotten, or from whom he proceeds. And the Father is therefore not said to be sent, not because of a diversity of Nature, for there is no such thing in the Trinity; but because of his Authority. For the Splendor or Heat sends not the Fire, but the Fire sends the Splendor or Heat. (c) To which you have this parallel place: For it was fit, not that the Father should be sent by the Son; but the Son by the Father. Now this is not an Inequality of Substance, but an Order of Nature; not that the one is prior to the other, but that the one is of the other. But as to the Appearances under the Old Testament, thus far we agree with *Austin*, whom *Petavius* follows, that God was not always in the Angel by a special Presence; but admini-

(a) Cap. 20. (b) In Lib. contra Arian. Serm. c. 4. (c) Lib. 3. contra Maximin. Arian. c. 14.

stred many Affairs by Angels only; nay, we deny not, that some Antients have gone too far in this Question. Further we freely confess, that it is often difficult to conjecture when a mere Angel, and when God in an Angel appear'd; and with *Petavius* embrace the Rule of *Alphonsus Tostatus*, as a good one; namely, that there are some things recorded in Scripture which are small, and belong but to some one, or a few; others, which are extraordinary, remarkable, and of universal concern. In the former, Angels alone are the Ministers, which the Scripture so expresses, as not to give any hint of a divine Person. The latter are transacted by God, and so declared, as that it appears, not only, that an Angel was present, but that God acted and spoke by him what he pleased. But still we think this the most certain Token of the Divine Presence, when he who appears or speaks, openly professes himself to be God, or he that is, or the God of *Abraham*, &c. or the God of the Fathers; and requires Divine Worship and Adoration to be paid him: This we know was done by him, who spoke to *Moses* in the Bush, and to the *Israelites* in *Mount Sinai*. In the mean time, we constantly affirm, that wheresoever it is plain God appeared, there is to be understood not the Father, but the Son; and herein we Religiously follow the consentient Judgment of primitive Antiquity. But to return.

16. Besides the Evidence we have brought, *Petavius* himself has help'd us to some. *Prudentius* very fully proves against the *Patripassians*, that the Word only appeared to the Antients, not in its proper shape, but a corporeal one, and that because the Father could not be seen of any one. Thus amongst other things he writes, (a) Was God passible, whose shape and figure was never seen by any one? That Majesty is not easy to be comprehended by Sense, the Eyes, or Hand. We have the famous Testimony of the great *John*,

(a) *Prudentius* in initio *Apoth.* Ed. *Amsterd.* Janf. p. 153.

that God could never be seen. *Again, (b)* Whosoever is reported to have seen God, hath seen his Son: For the Son is that, which shining forth from the Father, makes himself visible by shapes, which human Sight can comprehend. Then he says that the Word only was seen under a corporeal shape by *Abraham* and *Moses*; not by any means the Father: *(c)* Believe me, no one hath seen God, no one, believe me. God of the Fountain God is visible; God the Fountain himself is not. He who is begotten may be seen, not he who is unbegotten, &c.

Cassian says, *(d)* This is he only, who spake to the Patriarchs, dwelt in the Prophets, was conceived of the Spirit, born of the Virgin *Mary*, &c. *Then*, For was the Father ever seen upon Earth, who is never said to be visible but to the Son? Was he brought forth in the Flesh, or did he converse among Men? No sure. Lastly, *Isidore (e)* says: For it is the very Son, who being always sent by the Father, appeared visibly to Men. From his Mission therefore he is rightly called the *Angel. (f)*

17. I'll only add one thing more as worthy observation, That antiently the Symbols of some Churches, did by way of distinction profess God the Father invisible, and impassible, namely in the Sense explain'd. *Ruffinus* indeed, in his Explication of the Creed commonly called the Apostles, expressly witnesseth, that the Creed of *Aquileia* in the Article concerning the Father had in his time after [Almighty] Invisible and Impassible. Whence also in the Epistle of *Auxentius*, Arch-bishop of *Milan*, in *Hilary*, the first Article of the Creed is even now read thus: I believe in God the Father Almighty, Invisible, Impassible, Immortal. *Erasmus*, in his Answer to the Censure of the *Paris Divines* says, that the Eastern Churches had also received

(b) Ibid. *(c)* p. 155. *(d)* In Lib. 4. de Incarnatione, c. 9. *(e)* De Natura Domini, cap. 1. *(f)* Whosoever desires more upon this Head, may consult Petav. de Trin. Lib. 8. cap. 2.

the same Addition ; which (a) *Vossius* too thought probable. But without doubt this Addition was opposed to a Heresy, which some (b) whose Names are lost, did first defend, and then *Praxeas*, afterwards *Beryllus*, and *Noetus*, and lastly *Sabellius* ; all holding, that not the Son of God, but God the Father himself, was seen by Men under the Old Testament, and in the Fulness of Time was incarnate and suffered.

Dr. Grabe's Annotation upon Ch. 3. S. 5. &c.

I only add this to the Reverend Author's Discourse upon *Justin Martyr*, that if the Adversaries will therefore conclude that *Justin* deny'd the Immensity and Omnipresence of God the Son, because he hath said that he appeared in a small part of the Earth, as tho he had left the Heavens ; they may as well conclude, that *Justin* deny'd the Immensity and Omnipresence of God the Father, because he seems to confine him, as it were, to the Regions above. For he says (c) that God the Father always abides in the highest Heavens. And (d) he abides in his own Region, whatsoever that is, seeing and hearing quickly. But as God the Father is said to be in Heaven, because the Angels in Heaven behold his Face, *Matt.* 18. 10 ; so the Word is said to be on Earth, because on Earth he appeared in a visible shape to the Patriarchs, and other holy Men : Tho both of them do equally fill Heaven and Earth, *Jerem.* 23. 24. Besides, there is a remarkable Place to be added to the Citations from *Irenæus* for the Invisibility and Incomprehensibility of the Son of God. It is this : (e) He then took Man upon himself, invisible became visible, incomprehensible comprehensible, impassible passible, and the Word Man, summing up, or gathering together all things into himself ; that as the Word of God is chief in Super-celestial, Spiritual and Invisible things ; so he might have the Principality in

(a) *De Tribus Symb.* p. 26. (b) *Justin Apol.* 2. p. 96. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 358. (c) p. 275. (d) p. 357. (e) p. 277.

visible and corporeal things, taking the Primacy upon himself, and placing himself Head of the Church, that in due time he may draw all things to himself. See *Clement of Alexand.* Strom. 7. I add nothing concerning the other Fathers, for brevity's sake.



C H A P. IV.

The Third Thesis is proposed, in which the Use of the Doctrine of the Son's Subordination is explained.

TH O I have so largely explained the Sentiment of the Antients concerning the Subordination of the Son to the Father ; it still remains that I say something concerning the excellent Use the Antients observed in this Doctrine. This then shall be the third Thesis, and the last of this last Section.

T H E S I S III.

The Antient Doctors thought this Doctrine of the Subordination of the Son to the Father, as his Original and Principle; very useful and absolutely necessary to be known and believed ; because by this especially the Divinity of the Son may be asserted, and the Unity of the Divine Monarchy preserved notwithstanding. For tho the Name and Nature be common to two, namely to the Father and his Son, yet because the one is the Principle of the other, from which he is propagated, and that by an interior not an external Production, God is truly said to be only One. This Reason those Antients did also believe equally to belong to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

2. According to the Opinion of the Antients, which is also the Voice of Common Sense, if there were two
unbe-

unbegotten, or independent Principles in the Divinity, the Consequence would be, that not only the Father would be deprived of his Pre-eminence, being of and from himself alone (of which we have largely treated before) but also that there would necessarily be two Gods. On the other hand, supposing the Subordination, by which the Father alone is God of himself, and the Son God of God, the Doctors have thought both the Father's Pre-eminence, and the Divine Monarchy safe. This they would have extended to the Holy Spirit also, the third Person of the Deity, whom, as having his Original from the Father by the Son, they believed in no wise to bring in Tritheism. There are many things well worth reading to be found in the Fathers upon this head, especially in those, who have wrote more largely concerning the Trinity. We will give you a few select Passages out of the great Quantity.

3. We have before heard *Athenagoras* (a) inter that there is but one God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, because there is but one Fountain of the Divinity, namely the Father, from whom both the Son and Holy Spirit have their Original. *Tertullian* (b) hath very fully explained the Matter, where he thus learnedly argues against the *Praxeans*, who under the Pretence of asserting one God, denied the Distinction of Persons: We must always review what we have treated of, lest we seem to have condemn'd every thing that is wrong without examination, and by prejudice; especially this, which thinks itself in possession of the very Truth, supposing that we cannot otherwise believe one God, than by saying that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are the very same; as tho all were not also thus one, as being all of one, namely by Unity of Substance, and the Mystery of the OEconomy was preserved notwithstanding, which makes the One three. Some time after he proceeds thus: They publish that we preach two or three Gods, and presume, that them-

(a) See Sect. 2. Ch. 4. n. 9. (b) Tert. p. 501, 502.

selves are the Worshippers of the one God; as tho a mistaken Unity is not heretical, and a right Trinity is not the Truth. They say we hold the Monarchy: The *Latins*, even those of them that are barbarous, so express the Sound, that you would think they as well understood the Word *Monarchia*, as pronounced it. Now the *Latins* study to speak *Monarchia*; even the *Greeks* will not understand the Dispensation. But if I have got any knowledge of the two Languages, I know that Monarchy signifies nothing but the Government of One; but yet that it hath not that Title, because of one, of him whose it is, or that he hath not a Son, or that he made himself a Son to himself, or doth not administer his Monarchy by whom he pleases. Now I say, that no Government is to the Government of one himself so singular to a Monarchy, as that it is not administer'd by others, whom he makes his Officials. If he has a Son, who has a Monarchy, that the Monarchy is not necessarily divided, and ceases to be a Monarchy, if he takes his Son in Colleague; that it is principally his therefore, from whom it was communicated to the Son; and as his, is therefore a Monarchy, which is jointly held by two so much one. If then the Divine Monarchy is administered by so many Legions and Hosts of Angels, as it is written, *A thousand Millions stood by him, and an hundred Thousand appeared before him*; and yet it ceases not to be the Government of one, a Monarchy, tho administer'd by so many thousand Powers: how is it that God seems to be divided and dispersed in the Son and Holy Spirit, so Partakers of the Father's Substance; and yet is not divided and dispersed in such a Number of Angels so different from the Father's Substance? Thou falsly thinkest the Members, Pledges, Instruments, Powers, and the whole Parade of Monarchy to be the destruction of it. I would have thee use thyself to the Sense of the Thing, not the Sound of the Word. This thou art to understand to be the overthrowing the Monarchy, when another Government

vernment of its own proper frame and state, is by this introduc'd as a Rival of it; when another God is advanced in opposition to the Creator. Then it is evil, when we set up more, as *Prodicus* and *Valentinus* did; then we ruin the Monarchy, when we pull down the Creator. Now when I don't derive the Son from any thing else, but the Substance of the Father, and represent him as doing nothing without the Father's Will, and as having obtain'd all his Power from the Father; how can I indeed destroy the Monarchy, which I preserve in the Son, being delivered to him by the Father? I may urge this also in the third Person, for as much as I think the Spirit to have proceeded no other way than from the Father by the Son. Take care then, lest thou rather destroyest the Monarchy, who overturnest the Dispensation and Disposition of it in so many Persons as God pleased. Hitherto *Tertullian* very Learnedly.

4. The like we have in *Novatian*, where he thus writes concerning God the Father and the Son: (a) Namely, God proceeding from God, making a second Person, but not depriving the Father of being the One God. For if he had not been born, the unborn compared with the unborn, an Equality appearing, would have made two Unborns, and therefore two Gods. If he had been unbegotten, compared with the unbegotten, and found equal, the unbegottens would have truly made two Gods, and therefore Christ would have made two Gods. If he had been found without Original, as the Father, and had himself been the Principle of all things, as the Father, making two Principles, he had consequently made us two Gods. Then a little after he adds: But now whatsoever he is, he is not of himself, because not unborn; but of the Father, because begotten. Whether therefore he is the Word, or the Power, or the Wisdom, or the Light, or the Son, or whatsoever of these, since he is of no other, as I said before, but the Father, owing his O-

(a) P. 729, and 730.

original to his Father, he cannot divide the Divinity into two Gods, who had his Original by being born of the One God. Upon account of which, being the only begotten and the first begotten of him, who hath no beginning, he alone is the Principle and Head of all things. Lastly, towards the end he thus discourses: The Son is shewn to be God, to whom the Divinity is seen to be reach'd out and deliver'd; * but yet the Father is proved to be the One God, *because of that Reciprocation of the Divinity and Majesty of the Son to the Father, who gave it.*

5. We have elsewhere cited Hippolytus, thus discoursing in his Book against Noetus: When I say the Son is different from the Father, I do not say, that there are two Gods; but as it were, Light from Light, Water from the Fountain, and a Ray from the Sun. For there is one Power from the Whole, the Father is the Whole, from which this Power, the Word.

* *The Answer to the Queries interpolates this Place, as also Dr. Clarke, by adding the Words [by acknowledgment.] Not content with this, they have thought fit to leave out these Words [Unus Deus ostenditur verus & æternus Pater, à quo solo hæc vis Divinitatis emissa, etiam in Filium tradita & directâ, rursum per Substantiæ communionem ad Patrem revolvitur] by which Sect. 2. Ch. 8. n. 5. not only the Sense and Meaning, but also the Sum and Substance of what preceded, is strangely mangled. It is said besides, that these Words [Cujus sic Divinitas traditur, ut non aut dissonantia aut inæqualitate Divinitatis duos Deos reddidisse videatur] are corrupt, and Dr. Clarke lamely attempts the emendation of them: but really they stand in no need of it, unless they must be forced into the Doctor's Scheme.—Answer to the Queries p. 36, and 37. Against Mr. Nelson's Friend, p. 138, 139. Surely [aut dissonantia aut inæqualitate] consider'd in Syntax is such Latin as never even Africa produced. The sense of the Place is pretended to be the best understood from the consideration of what goes before: But every ordinary Reader will quickly see, that Novatian intends to give the Reason of that Sentence in what follows it. He uses the Particle [enim] to introduce it, and plainly means, that the Divinity of the Son does not jar with that of the Father, because the Subjection of every thing to the Son is from the Authority of the Father; that the Divinity of the Son is not unequal to that of the Father, because their Nature is common and reciprocal; so that they are not two either in the Exercise of Authority, or the Inequality, or Separation of Existence.*

Here

Here I have observed, that the Father and Son are therefore proved, tho distinct in Person, to be one God, because the Son is not God of himself, but God of God, even of the Father, as Light proceeds from Light, Water from the Fountain, and Ray from the Sun. Lastly, to omit many others, whom I might cite, *Origen* makes this Note upon Ch. 9. v. 5. of the Epistle to the *Romans*: Christ then is of them, as concerning the Flesh, who is over all God Blessed for ever. That Christ is one according to the Flesh, and another according to the Spirit, he signified in the former Parts of this Epistle, where he saith: Who was made of the Seed of *David* according to the Flesh who was the *Predestinated* Son of God in Power according to the *Sanctification of the Spirit*. How he is according to the Spirit the Son of God, and according to the Flesh the Son of *David*, we have more fully explain'd before. He then, whom he there calls the Son of God according to the Spirit, is here in the following part of his Doctrine, his Auditors having made a proficiency, called God over all Blessed for ever. I wonder how those that read what the same Apostle says in other Words, *There is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things*; deny that they are obliged to profess the Son of God to be God, lest they seem to say there are two Gods. What will they make of this place also, in which Christ is plainly styl'd God over all? But they mind not, who are of this Opinion, that as he called the Lord Jesus Christ not so one Lord, as that God the Father is not also called Lord; so he called not God the Father, so one God, as that the Son may not also be thought God. For the Scripture is true, which says, *Know ye that the Lord is God*. Now both are one God; because the Son hath no other beginning of his Divinity than the Father; but the Son (as Wisdom saith) is the most pure Emanation of the very one Paternal Fountain. I know (a) *Erasmus* hath pre-

(a) *Erasmus* in locum.

tended (the better to defend his own absurd Interpretation of that remarkable Passage of *St. Paul, Rom. 9. v. 5.*) that this Paragraph was corrected by *Jerom*, or some other of *Origen's* Interpreters, and hath endeavour'd to prove it, because it was strange *Origen* should here tell us, that there were Men then, who durst not call Christ God, lest they should seem to make two Gods: but why is that so strange? Because the Doctrine of the *Arians* is here noted, which (as *Erasmus* afterwards explains himself) was not condemn'd till many Years after *Origen*. But who would not wonder that the great *Erasmus* should either not know, or not remember, that there were many, not only in *Origen's* time, but many Years before, who were afraid to acknowledge Christ to be a Divine Person distinct from the Father, lest they should seem to make two Gods. Did not the *Praxeans* before *Origen*, deny that God the Father had a Son Personally distinct from him, and of the same Nature with him, under pretence of the Monarchy? Did not *Noetus*, *Origen's* Contemporary, defend the same Heresy? Hath not *Beryllus* taught it, with whom *Origen* disputed in a Synod of Bishops? There were others besides, in the Days of *Origen* and before, who universally and absolutely deny'd the distinct Subsistence of the Son in the Divine Essence, and even his Divinity, lest they should make two Gods? Did the very learned Man never hear of the *Ebionites*, (a) who professing themselves Worshippers of the One God the Father, affirm'd that Christ was a mere Man? And who are in more places than one by name taken notice of by *Origen*? Did not *Theodotus Coriarius* teach this Doctrine long before *Origen*? Lastly, (b) That you may not think the Text cited to be interpolated by *Jerom*, or some other Interpreter, see the same *Origen* in the Commentary upon *John* publish'd in Greek by *Huetius*, en-

(a) In *Libris contra Celsum*. (b) Consult the Judgment of the Catholick Church concerning all the Hereticks hitherto mentioned, who deny our Lord's Divinity.

gaging

gaging the same Heresy with the same Weapons (a). Further, the same *Origen* in his first Book upon *Genesis*, after he had said, that the Son was the eternal Splendor of the eternal Light, subjoins; He existed, but not so as we have said of the eternal Light, lest we should seem to bring in two Principles of Light; but as the Splendor of the unbegotten Light, having that Light his Beginning, and Original. Lastly, in his undoubted Work against *Celsus* (b) he contends, that the Christians are not guilty of Sedition against God the Father of all Things, tho they adore the Son with Divine Worship, as well as the Father; and he proves it by this Argument, because all the Honour of the Son redounds to God the Father. The Words are: Now *Celsus* cannot shew that we are guilty of any Sedition concerning the Son. For we even worship the Father, when we admire his Son, the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and whatsoever we have heard the Son of God is, so begotten of such a Father.

6. Now lest any one should reckon these among the dangerous Sayings of the Primitive Fathers, I add, that the *Post-Nicene* Fathers who kept closest to the Decrees of that Council, taught the same Doctrine. The great *Athanasius*, the most rigid Defender of the *Nicene Faith*, is ample Evidence of this Matter. Thus he speaks in his Oration against the *Sabellians*: (c) Where there is but one Principle, and one Begotten of it, the exact and natural Image, because begotten of him, there is one God; the Divinity being conceiv'd perfect in the Father, and the Father's Divinity subsisting perfect in the Son. But he is more full in his fourth Oration (d) against the *Arians*: Since Christ is God of God, and the Word, Wisdom, Son and Power of God; therefore we are told there is one God in Holy Scripture. For the Word being the Son of the One God, is refer'd to him, whose he is. So that there are two, the Father and Son, but still an indissolved, un-

(a) C. I. n. 10. of this Section. (b) P. 386, 387. (c) Tom. 2. p. 43. (d) Vol. I. Tom. I. p. 617.

divided Unity of the Godhead. Thus we must say one Principle of the Godhead, not two. Hence properly comes the Monarchy. Of this Principle the Word is the Son, not as another Principle subsisting of himself, nor begotten extrinsically of the same, lest by the diversity there should be a double, or manifold Principality. But the one Principle hath its proper Son, Wisdom, and Word, subsisting from or of him. This is very clear.

7. *Basil* defends the Unity (a) of God after the same manner. There are not two Gods, nor two Fathers. He that introduces two Principles, preaches up two Gods. *Gregory* (b) *Nazianzen* elegantly calls the Father the Union, because (which *Petavius* well observes) the Production, the Procession of one Person from another, or the Unity of Principle is the Cause of the Unity in the Trinity. The three, *says he*, have one Nature, that of God. The Father is the Union, or Unity, of whom, and to whom those that follow, are refer'd. Again, (c) The One God, as I think, would be preserv'd, if the Son and Holy Spirit are refer'd to one Cause, without composition or confusion. *Casarius* says, that *Moses* wrote, (d) *The Lord thy God is one Lord*; that he might exalt us to the Unity of Principle, and Knowledge of God. Which one Principle is the Father, from whom the Son and Holy Spirit proceed. *Damascene* says, (e) Neither do we affirm, that there are three Gods, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but rather one God, the Sacred Trinity, the Son and Spirit being brought back to the one Principle, not mix'd, or confounded, as *Sabellius* taught. Where it is plain, *Damascene* hath made use of *Gregory Nazianzen's* Expression. Of the *Latins* I'll only give you an Author or two. *Hilary* (f) says: The Father does not therefore cease to be the One God, because the Son is God. For he is God of God, One of One;

(a) Orat. 27. contra Sabellianos. (b) Orat. 32. p. 520.
(c) Orat. 29. p. 490. (d) In Dialog. 1. ad Int. 4. (e) In Lib. 1.
de Orthod. fide, c. 2. (f) In 4 Lib. de Trin. p. 37.

who is therefore the One God, because God of himself; on the other hand, the Son is not less God, because the Father is the One God. For he is the only begotten Son of God, not unbegotten so as to take from the Father his being the One God; nor yet himself being any thing else but God, because begotten of him. Thus *Fulgentius* (a) also answers an *Arian* Objection: In two unbegotten there is a different Divinity, but in one begotten of one unbegotten is plainly a natural Unity.

8. Now concerning this Method of the Antient Catholics, by which they prove the Unity of God, there are two things especially observable. First, that the *Arians* also did in Words embrace it. For the Bishops of the *Arian* Faction in the Council of *Sirmium*, when in the beginning of their Creed they had professed to believe with the *Nicene Fathers*, that the Son of God was God of God, Light of Light, at the end they define thus: If any one say that the Son is unbegotten, without Beginning or Principle, as saying, that there are two without Beginning or Principle, two unbegotten, and as making two Gods, let him be *Anathema*. For the Son is the Head and Principle of all things; but God is the Head of Christ. For thus we piously reduce all things thro the Son to the one Principle of all things without beginning. But these Words, it is certain, were not sincerely, but after their Sophistical manner spoke by them. For the *Arians* believ'd, that the Son of God was produced of God the Father, as of a Principle, in a created way, as all other things are; and made this only difference between the Son of God, and the other Creatures; that the Son was first and immediately produced out of nothing by the Father; and then all other things by the Son. This the *Sirmians* plainly signify in these Words: We piously refer all things to the One Principle by the Son. Here they sufficiently shew that they equally refer the Son and

(a) In Lib. cont. Obj. *Arian*, Obj. 5. (b) *Socrates*. Lib. 2. Ch. 30. p. 103.

all other things to the Father as a Principle; the Son indeed immediately; and the other things by the Son. But it is vain and very ridiculous for any one to attempt to prove that the Father and Son are one God, because the one exists from the other as his Principle, unless by Principle he means a Consubstantial Principle. For unless this be supposed, it will also follow (which is very absurd) that every created thing is one God with the Father; for every Creature hath in some sort his Original from God the Father, as from a Principle. A notable God of God the *Arians* have, who is no otherwise of God than by way of Creation, as all other created things are! You'll say, that these things don't affect the *Semi-Arians* however, who determine that the Son of God is produced of God the Father, not of Nothing; and yet absolutely deny that he was begotten of the Substance of the Father. I own there were such Men formerly, and I have explain'd their Sentiment above: But I always thought them very weak Creatures. For, (a) as before the Creation there was no medium between the Substance of God and Nothing, so there could be no middle Production between a Production of the Substance of God, and a Production of Nothing. The *Semi-Arian* therefore, and the *Semi-God*, and the *Semi-Creature*, are equally Monsters, and Prodigies, truly to be dreaded by all pious and sound Minds. The Son of God must either be true God, or a mere Creature. It is an Axiom of Eternal Truth, that there is nothing between God and Creature, unmade and made. Therefore the Catholick Fathers had a much better right to use this Argument, as all of them unanimously asserting the Son's Consubstantiality.

9. The other thing, which I propose to the Reader's Observation, is, That this Reasoning taken from the Unity of Principle, tho the Principle be supposed Consubstantial, is not, universally and absolutely consider'd,

(a) Sect. 2. Ch. 9. n. 11.

fit and accommodate, to clear up and prove the Unity of the Father and Son. For it hath, as *Petavius* hath rightly caution'd, a general Power of concluding in all things, especially Vital and Animal, in which we see this Generation, properly speaking. But these, tho of the same Nature with their Principle, make many separate and distinct Individuals. Therefore I purposely added in the Thesis, that the Father is the Principle of the Son and Holy Spirit, and that both of them are propagated from him by an interior Production, not an external one. Hence it comes to pass, that they are not only of the Father, but in him, and the Father in them, and that there can't be one Person separate from another in the Holy Trinity, as three humane Persons, or three other Subjects of the same Species are separate. Those that think so of the Divine Persons, well deserve to be called *Tritheists*, of whom *Hieronymus Zanchius* (a) learnedly writes thus: This is their Comment, who have also dream'd, that the Son is so born of the Father, as to be without or extrinsic of his Essence, as our Children are. For they can't perceive, how any thing can be born of any thing, and be his Son, and yet remain in him, of whom he is born. This is so, because they believe all Generation is exterior, not any interior. I say the same concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. Now they have come to these Conclusions, because contemplating the Divine Essence in their finite Mind, they cou'd not raise to themselves any other than a finite Idea; nor cou'd otherwise distinguish the Persons from one another, than by separating the *Essence of one from the Essence of another*. When the *Sabellians* objected this same Error to the Catholics, who said that the Son did as well subsist by himself as the Father, the Eastern Bishops assembled at *Antioch* A. D. 345. in their Confession of Faith called *Macrostichus*, did no less Catholically than Elegantly answer

(a) De tribus Elohim, Lib. 5. C. 1. n. 2.

thus :

thus: (I venture to say so, tho not a few of those Bishops were found in the Interest of *Arianism*, and the Word *Consubstantialis* omitted in the Confession.) (a) But though we say that the Son exists by himself, lives and subsists as the Father doth, we don't therefore separate him from the Father, conceiving in a bodily manner, certain places and intervals, by which they are joined. For we believe, that they are joined without any Medium, or Interstice, and that they subsist inseparably from one another; The whole Father having the Son in his Bosom, the whole Son dependent upon, and coherent to the Father, and only always resting in his Bosom. It would be strange, that the *Arians* at that Council subscribed these Words, if there were not also other things in that Creed, diametrically opposite to *Arianism*, which they also confirmed by their Subscription. Such is that especially, that the Son of God is true and perfect God by Nature: But those dark Fellows were ready to approve any Creed, which had not the *Homoousion*; tho it had other Terms in it, altogether of the same import. To return, the Father and Son then are so one, that the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son: neither can the one be separated from the other. This manner of Union the *Greeks* call *Περίχωρις*. The *Latins* (the School-men I mean,) *Circuminceffio* or *Circumincessio*. *Genebrard* (b) among others thus explains the Word: *Περίχωρις* and *Circuminceffio* may be said to be that Union, by which one thing exists in another, not only by a Participation of Nature, but also by a full and intimate Presence. This kind of existing in, if I may so say, our Divines call *Circuminceffio*, because by it some things are very much distinguish'd from one another without separation; are in, and as it were penetrate one another, without confusion.

(a) *Socrates*, Lib. 2. Chap. 19. pag. 83.
Trin.

(b) Lib. 2. de

10. I will now shew, that the Antients generally acknowledg'd such an Union as this in the Divine Persons, and first I shall begin with the the *Ante-Nicene* Doctors. Now here I would desire my Reader to recur to that Treasure of Testimonies produc'd in the former Sections. There he will find places cited from the respective Fathers, which teach either, that the Son of God subsists in God, or remains in the Bosom of God, or that the Word is implanted in his Heart; and in like manner, that the Father is in the Son, all which Expressions plainly signify the Union, of which we treat. But this Notion is so clearly expressed in almost all the Writings of the Antients, and so repugnant to the *Arian* Hypothesis, that I have often wonder'd, that wise and well-read Men in the Antiquities of the Church, could seriously accuse those Writers of *Arianism*. Indeed they might with much greater probability have charg'd them with *Sabellianism*, tho' that Calumny also is easily to be repelled, as I have elsewhere shewn. To the same Purpose is that, which the same Antients with one Voice profess, that the Son is begotten of the Father without any Section or Division, and so brought forth of the Father, as not to be separated from him. Thus *Justin*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Tertullian*, *Novatian*, yea all of them. Hence *Tertullian*: (a) 'This is the Preserver of Unity, by which we say (namely all the Catholics in the Article of the Trinity) that the Son was brought forth of the Father, not separated from him. What can be more clear than that place of *Athenagoras*, cited before? (b) There the very learned Writer, after he had said, that the Father and Son were one, declares the manner of their Union thus: The Father being in the Son, and the Son in the Father by the Unity and Power of the Spirit. Parallel to this, is *Clement of Alexandria* in the same Section (c). *Tertullian* as plainly and succinctly expresses the same, (d) where he says that the Holy

(a) Adv. Prax. Ch. 8. (b) Sect. 2. Ch. 4. n. 8. (c) Ch. 6. n. 4.
(d) Adv. Prax. Ch. 12.

Trinity is one Substance in three Coherents ; not then diverse Substances in three mutually separate. (a) The same *Tertullian* says, The Connexion of the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Paraclete, make three Coherents, which three are one Thing, not *one Person*. Again, (b) The Trinity passing down from the Father thro joint and connected degrees, is not repugnant to the Monarchy. Lastly, He says, that (c) in the Trinity there is Number without Division. That is also a very clear Passage of *Origen*, which we cited before, (d) where he professedly opposes their Error, who cut the Divine Nature into Parts, and as much as lies in them divide God the Father. For, says he, even to suspect such things of an incorporeal Nature, is not only the utmost Impiety, but the grossest Folly; nor indeed is it agreeable to Reason at all, to have an Idea of a substantial or material Division in an incorporeal Nature. Now we should rather think, as the Will proceeds from the Mind, and does not take away or cut off any part of the Mind, or is separated or divided from it, so the Father *begat the Son*. The same *Origen*, in that undoubted Piece of his against *Celsus*, often teaches, that the Divine Nature and Essence is common to the Son with the Father, as hath been abundantly shewn above; and yet in the fourth Book of the same Work, he asserts expressly, that the Nature of God is incorruptible, simple, uncompound and indivisible. There also he adds, that the Son of God subsists in the Form or Nature of God, and therefore hath the same Attributes. A little after, he calls the Son of God, God the Word in the Father. Surely whoever duly considers that remarkable Passage of *Origen*, will find in it, that the two Persons, Father and Son, subsist undivided in the same Essence (e). See also the famous Testimony of *Dionysius Rom.* to the same purpose (f). There the great Man sharply censures those, who

(a) Ibid. Ch. 25. (b) Ch. 8. (c) Ch. 2. (d) Ch. 9. n. 19.
Sect. 2. (e) Sect. 2. Ch. 9. n. 14. (f) Ch. 11. n. 1.

divide, split, and overturn the Sacred Doctrine of God's Church, parting the Principle of Unity into three certain Powers, three divided Persons, three Deities. To their Heresy he quickly after opposes the Catholick Doctrine thus: For it is necessary the Word of God be united to the God of all, and that the Holy Spirit abide and dwell in God; and it is absolutely necessary that the Divine Trinity be gather'd together, and united into one, as a certain Head, or Sum, I say, into the Almighty God of all things. These Words of *Dionysius* greatly confirm the Definition of the *περιχώρησις*, which the learned *Bellarmino* hath embraced, (a) when he says it is that intimate and perfect Inhabitation of one Person in another. Lastly, not to be too long upon so plain a Case, you may find in the same place, a Passage of *Dionysius*, in which that celebrated Writer censures their Ignorance, who know not that the Father, as Father, can be alienated from the Son; for that it is an especial Term of Connexion: and that the Son cannot be removed from the Father; for that the Term Father denotes Communion: and that the Holy Spirit is in the hands of them both, and cannot be separated from him that sent, and him that brought him. It is also a saying of the same Persons, (b) that the Indivisible and Indiminish'd Trinity is collected into Unity. Lastly, in his Answer to the fourth Quest. of *Paulus Samosat.* he thus speaks concerning the three Persons of the Trinity: The two Persons are inseparable, and also the Imperson'd or Subsistent Spirit of the Father, which was in the Son.

11. It remains that I shew, that the Fathers after the Rise of *Arianism* agreed with those before it. Now since the Places, which might be alledg'd for this purpose, are innumerable, we shall only give you a few for a Specimen. *Alexander* of *Alexandria* in his Epistle to *Alexander* of *Constantinople* writes thus upon that Text of *St. John*, *The only begotten Son who is in*

(a) Lib. 2. de Christo, Cap. 5. (b) See the Annot. upon Chap. 11.

the Bosom of the Father: (a) The Divine Teacher purposing to shew the two things inseparable from one another, the Father and the Son, said that he was in the Bosom of the Father. The same Person in the same Epistle says afterwards, that the Words of Christ, *I and the Father are One*, are a Declaration of his natural Glory, Pedigree, and Abode with the Father. Thus *Athanasius*: (b) But as he who says the Father and Son are two, means one God; so he who says there is one God, means two Persons, the Father and Son being one in Godhead, and that the Word by proceeding, or existing from him, is not to be parted, divided, or separated from the Father. *Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita*, as far as divine Things can be shadowed forth by corporeal, hath declared the mutual Existence of the Divine Persons in one another by an excellent Similitude: (c) The abiding of the Persons, which are of one Principle, one in another (if we may so speak) is united and common, and their Station or Place is universally united in the greatest degree; like the Lights of Lamps (to use a sensible and plain Example) which are in one House; they are all mutually entire and unmix'd; they have a real exact Distinction one from another, united in Distinction and distinguish'd in Union. For when there are many Lamps in one House, we see all the Lights united into one, and sending forth one undistinguish'd Illumination; nor cou'd any one, I suppose, part the Light of one Lamp from that of the others out of the Air which surrounds them all, or see one without the others, the Light of them being universally and mutually mix'd together. Now if any one should take one of these Lamps out of the House, all its own proper Light will depart with it, it will not take away with it any of the others Light, nor leave any of its own. For, as I said before, there was a perfect Union of them all

(a) *E. H. Theodoret. Lib. 1. Ch. 4. pag. 11, 15.* (b) *Tom. 1. p. 1. pag. 624.* (c) *De Divinis Nominibus, Ch. 2.*

to all entirely unmix'd, and in no part confounded. These things happen really in Bodies, the Air for instance; Light depending upon a material Fire: Yet we say that superessential Union is of an higher Nature than that of Bodies or Souls, or Minds, &c. It is very certain, *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* did not write these excellent Words: but it is also certain, that the Author was very antient. The very Learned and right Reverend Bishop *Pearson* (a) places him not far from the beginning of the fourth Century; and I am much of his mind.

12. *Basil* explains this Matter well in many Places, Epistle the 42d (b) especially, where he thus discourses concerning the three Divine Persons: We are not by any means to think of Section or Division, so as to conceive the Son without the Father, or divide the Spirit from the Son. But there is in them a certain unspeakable inconceivable Communion and Distinction, neither the Diversity of Persons distracting the Conjunction of Nature, nor the Community of Essence confounding the Property of their Distinction. *Basil* hath more worthy your reading, which follows in the same Place. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (c) says the Father is the Son's natural place. *Euthymius* does indeed briefly, yet accurately explain (d) the whole Notion of the Circumincession in these Words: We say these Persons are in one another, because of their mutual containing and inferring one another; — because they are infinite and immense, and because the Godhead of them all is one. *Damascene* in more places than one discourses upon this Point, and explains it well. (e) Thus, after he had said, that Subjects in a created Nature are not one in another, but exist separately, and that we therefore say two, or three, or many Men; he shews that the manner, in which the Persons of the Holy Trinity exist,

(a) Vind. Ignat. pag. 1. Ch. 10. (b) Tom. 3. pag. 97. (c) In septimo Lib. Thesaur. (d) Part 1. Tit. 2. Panoplia. dogm. Orthod. Fidei. (e) In Lib. 1. de Orthod. Fide, Ch. 11.

is different: For we can't assign any local Distance, when we speak of the unlimited Deity, as we can with respect to ourselves. For the Persons are in one another, not so as to be confounded, but contain'd according to the Word of the Lord, *I in the Father, and the Father in me*. And a little after he says, The Deity, in a word, is indivisible in parts, and like the one mixture and conjunction of Light in three Suns, contiguous and without interval. Where he almost uses the same Similitude, that the *Pseudo-Dionysius* did. (a) Again, speaking of the Divine Persons, he says, That they cou'd not depart, or be distant from one another, that they were united and mutually contained one another without confusion; united without confusion, for they are three, tho united; divided without Interval, for tho every one subsisted by himself, was a perfect Person, and had his own Property, or different Manner of Existence; yet they are united in Essence, in Physical Properties, in that they are not distant, they cannot depart from the Father's Person. They are, and are called one God. To these Testimonies of the *Greeks*, I shall only add for the Reader's refreshment the Hymn of *Synefius* Bishop of *Cyrene*, who flourish'd in the beginning of the 5th Century. I celebrate thee, O Trinity. Thou art one and three. Thou art three and one. In Conception divided, but thy Division is indivisible. Hymn 3, so also Hymn 4.

13. Of the *Latins*, *Marius* (b) *Victorinus* thus speaks concerning God the Father and the Son: When we confess each of them God, we only mean one God, and both of them that one God; because the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father. So *Ambrose* says, (c) Both the Father is Lord, and the Son Lord: *The Lord said to my Lord*, but not two Lords, but one Lord; because both the Father is God, and the Son God, yet but one God; because the Father is in

(a) In Lib. 3. Ch. 5. (b) In initio Lib. 2. adv. Arium.
(c) Lib. 10. in Lucam ad Ch. 20.

the Son, and the Son in the Father. *Again, (a)* The Father and Son have a Distinction, as Father and Son, but no Separation of Divinity. *Again, (b)* He thus briefly and neatly expresses both the Unity of Principle and the Circumincersion: He is therefore call'd God the Father, because he is the Fountain, and the Wisdom, because that by which all things were dispos'd; and the Love, because that by which they will that all things should so remain as they are dispos'd. The Fountain then, and he that is of it, and he by whom these Two love another, are Three, and these Three are therefore One, because these Two are so of One, as not to be separate from him: but they are from him, because not of themselves; and they are in him, because not separate; and they are the same as he, and he the same as they, and they not the same as he, and he not the same as they. Here he joins together the Unity of Principle, and the Circumincersion, shewing that the Son and Holy Spirit are not only from the Father, but in him, nor can any way be separated from him; and therefore that all the Three are one God, one and the same in Nature and Essence, but three in Subsistence. *Hilary (c)* says, The Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, by the Unity of an inseparable Nature, not confus'd, but undivided; not mixt, but common; not coherent, but existent; not inconsummate, but perfect. For it is a Nativity, not a Division; a Son, not an Adoption; a God, not a Creation. The Apostle holding this Faith of the Son abiding in the Father, and the Father in the Son, says, that there is to him, *one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ*. Where, when *Hilary* denies the Union of the Father and Son to be coherent, he only excludes such Cohesion as is seen in material Things. Otherwise the Catholick Doctors have not been afraid to say, that the Father and the Son are

(a) Lib. 2. de Fide, cap. 2. (b) De Dignitate conditionis humanæ, cap. 11. (c) De Trin. Lib. 8.

mutually coherent. *Jerome*, upon the third Chapter of *Ezekiel*, says, The Son is the Place of the Father, and the Father of the Son, according to our Lord and Saviour, *I in the Father, and the Father in me*. Lastly, *Fulgentius* (a) teaches, That one Man is with another, by whom he is greatly belov'd, after another manner than the Word is with the Father. For a Man is so with a Man, as that he not only can be from him, but also when he is with him, cannot be substantially in him. He who is thus with another, is truly without him; because when he is with him in the Sincerity of Love, he is from him in Place, how greatly soever they be join'd in Affection. But the Word is so with God, as the Word is in the Mind, or Counsel in the Heart. For when the Mind hath the Word with it, it hath it by thinking; for to talk with one's self, is nothing else but to think. When therefore the Mind thinks, and by Thinking begets the Word within itself, it begets the Word of its own Substance; and so begets that Word of itself, that even when begotten, it hath it within itself. Nor is the Word any thing inferior to the Mind, of which it is born, because, as great as the Mind is which begets the Word, so great is the Word itself. For as the Word is born of the whole Mind, so when born, it remain'd within the whole Mind. And because when the Mind thinks, there is no Part of it, in which the Word is not, therefore the Word is as great as the Mind, of which it is; and when it is with it, is in it; and, as great as it is, so great is the Word, because it is of the Whole, and in the whole Mind. The Word is as great as the Mind and Word together; nor is the Word so born of the Mind, as to be locally sever'd from it.

14. Of the Circumincission of the Persons in the sacred Trinity, we further observe three Things.

(a) Lib. 3. ad Monimum, cap. 17.

First, When some of the *Antients* (a) attribute this Circumincersion to the two Natures in Christ, which they assert do penetrate, mutually embrace, or contain each other, we are to determine that there they speak improperly. For since the Circumincersion is properly the Union of those Things, which do mutually every way penetrate one another, (as the Preposition denotes) it is requisite to it, that neither of the Things so united be without the other, but that wheresoever the one is, there the other should exist also. Now in Christ, the Divine Nature does indeed penetrate the Humane every way, but not so the Humane the Divine: For that is finite and circumscrib'd, this infinite and immense; upon which account it cannot be, that this should be wheresoever that is. But in the Trinity the Circumincersion is truly proper and perfect; for the Persons mutually contain one another, and all Three have an immense Place, so that wheresoever one Person is, there are the other two, *i. e.* they are all every where. Whence *Tertullian* (b) says, You are to know that God is within the very Abyss, is every where, and that the Son also is indivisible from him, is every where with him. *Secondly*, I would observe to my Reader, that this Doctrine of the Circumincersion of the Persons in the Trinity, is so far from bringing in *Sabellianism*, that it is very useful (as *Petavius* also hath observ'd) to prove the Diversity of the Persons, and refute that Heresy. For in order to that mutual Existence in one another, which we see in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, it is necessary that there be some Distinction of those that are join'd together, that is, that those which exist in one another, be really, and not in Notion only different. For that which is simply one, is not said to be in itself, or to penetrate itself. This (c) *Cyril of Alexan-*

(a) *Gregor. Naz. Orat. 51. p. 740. Damascen. de Orthod. Fide, Lib. 3. cap. 5.* (b) *Adv. Prax. cap. 3.* (c) *Lib. Thesaur. 12.*

dria hinted: That by this their appearing to be this in that, and that in this, he might shew the Identity of the Godhead, and the Unity of Essence; and by their being one in another, they might not be conceived to be one numerical Thing. See also the place of *Pseudo-Dionysius*, before cited. Lastly, This is especially to be consider'd, that this Circumincersion of the Divine Persons is indeed the greatest Mystery; which we ought rather religiously to adore, than curiously examine. No Similitude, no Words can ever be found every way expressive of it: It is an Union above all other Unions, as the learned *Pseudo Dionysius* hath told us. We speak, we think in such Obscurity, like Children concerning this and other Mysteries! Whilst we are here, we behold our God, as it were in a Glass, darkly; but the Time will come, the Eternity which far exceeds all Time, in which we shall see him Face to Face. The Beatifick Vision will dispel all the Darkness of our Minds; which that he of his divine Mercy may grant us, let us always most earnestly pray. In the mean time, whilst we are Travellers here, we rather wish to know (as the learned *Athenagoras* (a) says) than clearly know, what is the Union of the Son to the Father, what the Communion of the Father with the Son, what the Spirit is, what is the Union of them, what their Distinction when united, namely, of the Father, Son, and *Holy Spirit*.



The Conclusion of the whole Work.

WE are now, by the Grace of God, arrived, and I hope happily, thro' the immense Sea of the Antients, at our designed Port. I think I have performed what I promised in the Beginning; namely, I

(a) Athenagor. p. 12.

have shewn, by many clear Testimonies, that Primitive Antiquity agrees with the *Nicene* Fathers in these four Points : (1.) That the Lord Christ existed in his better Nature before the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, yea before the Creation, and that all things were made by him. (2.) That he in that very Nature was consubstantial with God the Father, *i. e.* not of any created, mutable Essence ; but altogether of the same Nature with the Father, and therefore true God. (3.) Which is a Consequence of the former, that he is coeternal with God the Father, *i. e.* a Divine Person co-existing with the Father from Eternity. (4.) Lastly, That this notwithstanding, he is subordinate to God the Father, as his Author and Principle. The first I handled lightly and by way of Stricture, because the *Arians* confess it ; tho' by this Concession, namely, that God the Father made all things out of nothing, by the Son, they plainly appear to me to have betrayed their own Cause. For I'm of opinion, with the more sound *Schoolmen*, that a power of producing other things out of nothing can't be communicated to a Creature made of nothing, such as the *Arians* dreamt that the Son was. Of these Schoolmen *Esaius* saith (a), That a Creature cannot be advanced, by supernatural Power, to act as a physical Instrument in the Work of Creation ; because it is of the nature of such an Instrument to act by something of its own Power, suitably to or in conformity with the acting of the principal Cause. For which reason the Divine Power cannot give to a Creature the Power to create, as a physical Instrument, without destroying the proper Nature of its physical *Efficiency* or Instrumentality. The Foundation of this Argument he had before explained in the same Place : Nothing can be the Cause of Creating, but what hath an infinite Power. For by how much the Form to be produced is the more remote from Power, so much the greater Power is required

(a) In lib. 2. Distinct. 1. Sect. 4. Vide etiam Athanasium.

in the Agent ; therefore an infinite Power is required to produce a Form out of no Power, which is done in Creation. Now it is impossible this should be communicated to any Creature. Hence, namely from the Work of the Creation, common to the Son with the Father, the antient, yea the *Ante-Nicene* Catholics concluded the Divinity of them both common. *Origen* himself expressly teaches, that nothing but the Word of God, that is, nothing but very God could perfect the Creation of all things (a). For upon that place of *Genesis*, *Let us make Man, &c.* and upon that of the Psalmist, *He spoke, and they were made*, he thus discourses in the same Place : For if God commanded, and the Creatures were made, who, according to the Prophet, should be the Executor of so great a Command of the Father, but he, if I may so speak, who is his animated Word and Truth? Nay, the most antient Fathers generally sharply reprov'd the *Gnostics* for teaching, that this World was made by Angels, and Powers different from and inferior to God. The Places of *Irenæus* (b) above-cited are especially clear in this Point : The only one God the Creator is he, who is above all Principality, Dominion, and Power ; this Father, this God, this Creator, and Maker, he made these things by himself, *i. e.* by his Word and Wisdom he made the Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. Again (c), Therefore the Angels did not make or form us, nor could the Angels make the Image of God, nor any one, no Power distant from the Father of all things, but the Word of the Lord. For God did not stand in need of them to make what he had determined with himself to have made, as tho' he had not Hands of his own. For his Word and Wisdom are always with him, the Son and Spirit, by whom, and in whom he freely made all things, to whom he speaks also,

(a) Sect. 2. chap. 9. n. 5. (b) Sect. 2. Chap. 5. n. 7. Iren. Lib. 2. ch. 55. p. 214. (c) Lib. 4. Ch. 37. p. 369.

saying,

saying, *Let us make Man after our own Image and Similitude*; taking from himself the Substance of the Creatures, the Copy of the Things made, and the Figure of the Ornaments in the World. In which Places, *Irenaeus* clearly teaches, That God the Father neither made, nor had occasion to make, nor cou'd make the World by any thing extrinsic of himself; and at the same time as plainly teaches, that he created all things by the Son and Holy Spirit.

I have very largely demonstrated the second Point, concerning the Consubstantiality of the Son, because the Controversy manifestly depends upon it. If in this particular, Primitive Antiquity appear on our side, the Cause will soon be determin'd in all the other Parts of it with the *Arians*. For this being granted, that the Son is of the same Nature and Essence with the Father, the whole Frame and Structure of their Heresy is overturn'd. But they can't name one *Ante-Nicene* Doctor who hath not confessed the Consubstantiality. As for the third Point, I have evidently shewn, that the greatest and better part of the Primitive Fathers, have clearly and plainly profess'd to believe the Son's Eternity; and that the other Doctors of the Church, who attributed to the Son a Generation from some Beginning, tho they differed from the other in Words, agreed with them in Sense. Lastly, I have clearly prov'd, that the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers did not define any other Subordination of the Son to the Father, than the Catholicks acknowledg'd, who wrote after, and against *Arius*; and that their harsher Expressions do not only admit, but require a Catholick Sense. From all this it is manifest, that *Petavius* was too liberal, in allowing to the *Arians* the Suffrages of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers; and, that *Sandius* and others, who relying upon the Authority of that Jesuit, boldly affirm'd, that all the Doctors of the first Ages were of *Arius's* Opinion, are mistaken.

The Opinion of the Catholick Fathers, who engaged the *Arians* in former Days, was widely different
from

from this. They were so far from being afraid of the Primitive Doctors, that they willingly appealed to them. *Athanasius* (a) after he had cited the Testimonies of some Antients in defence of the *Nicene Creed*, thus speaks to the *Arians*: Behold we shew, that the Notion has passed from *Fathers to Fathers*; but you *Novel Jews*, and Disciples of *Caiaphas*, what Fathers can ye produce for your Forms? You cannot name us one wise or prudent Man. All abhor you but the Devil: He only was to you the Author of such an Apostasy. *Athanasius* had seen Pieces of the Antients, which to the great detriment of the Church are now lost: But of all he had read, he boldly asserts, and that, not in a Sermon to the People, but in a written Disputation against the *Arians*, that the *Hereticks* cou'd not produce one approved Author, who defended their Blasphemies. And indeed, we have sufficiently prov'd in this Work, that there was not one of the Antient Catholick Fathers, whose Divine Writings Providence has secur'd from the Shipwreck, to us their late Posterity, who was not of the Side of the *Nicene Bishops*. Nay, the very *Arians* themselves, tho they pretended to the ignorant Populace, that they held the Faith deliver'd by the Fathers, and gave some Colour to their Heresy, from certain Sayings of some Fathers not rightly understood (as we have shewn before) yet, when press'd in Disputation, absolutely declin'd the Judgment and Authority of the Antients. The Story of *Sisinnius* in *Socrates*, (b) which we hinted before, is a noted one. * The Emperor *Theodosius* having sent for the Bishop *Nectarius*, seriously discoursed with him, about some Method of freeing the

(a) Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 233. (b) *Socrat. H. E. Lib. 5. Ch. 10.*

* See also the Story of *Acelius* in the same *Socrates*, p. 32. His Answer to *Constantine*, when ask'd whether he wou'd subscribe the *Nicene Creed*, was this: The Synod, O King, has defined nothing new: I have read this Definition of Faith——as what was antient Tradition, even from the Beginning, the very Times of the Apostles.

Christian

Christian Religion from Differences, and restoring the Unity of the Church. He said the Controversy which divided the Churches ought to be discussed; that thus the Occasions of Discord being taken away, Peace might be recalled. Upon hearing this, *Nectarius* was anxious and solicitous. He sent for *Agellius*, then a *Novatian* Bishop, but one who agreed with him in the Faith, and open'd to him the Emperor's Purpose: *Agellius*, otherwise a Pious and Religious Man, but not able to engage in a close Dispute, chose *Sisinnius* his Reader, to undertake that Province. But *Sisinnius*, an Eloquent and a Prudent Man, one, who besides his knowledge of the Holy Writ understood the *Greek* Philosophy excellently, well-knowing that *Heresy* was rather inflamed than Divisions healed by such Disputations, gave *Nectarius* this Advice: Since he was assur'd that the Antients had been very cautious of attributing to the Son any Beginning of Existence, as thinking him Co-eternal with the Father, he persuades him to wave Logical Branglings, to bring in Evidence the Expositions of the Fathers, and to put the Emperor upon asking the Leaders of the respective Sects, whether they thought regard was to be had to the Antient Doctors who taught before the Division in the Church, or whether they rejected them as Aliens to the Christian Religion. If they reject them, you may then venture to anathematize them. Now if they presume to do that, they will be thrust out by the People; and thus the Truth will plainly appear victorious. But if they shall not reject the Antient Doctors, it will be our business to produce their Books. *Socrates* proceeds to inform us, that *Nectarius* communicated this Advice to the Emperor, who eagerly embrac'd it, and upon the Experiment, observes, that the *Hereticks* depended upon Logical Disputation, not the Exposition of the Antients: for they all refused to abide by the Judgment of the Fathers. *Sozomen* (c) gives us the same

(c) Pag. 583. Lib. 7. Ch. 12.

Story. To which we may add, what *Alexander of Alexandria* witnesseth, (d) That the first Champions of *Arianism* despis'd the Antient Doctors, and like the present *Fanaticks* and *Enthusiasts*, impudently boasted, that they themselves were taught by Inspiration. For thus he writes in his Epistle to *Alexander of Constantinople*: They will not have any of the Antients compar'd with them; they cannot bear to be set upon a Level with our Masters from our Childhood; nor do they think that any of our Collegues in the Ministry have attain'd even a small share of Wisdom. They say, that they alone are wise, †mortify'd to Worldly-things: The Inventors of Doctrines, and that that is reveal'd to them alone, which never enter'd into the Thoughts of any other Person under the Sun. In these Words *Alexander* signifies, that the *Arian* Notion is not only contrary to the Doctrine of the Antients, but also to that of his immediate Predecessors, and of all the Bishops, who govern'd the Church at that time, when *Arius* first rais'd the unhappy Controversy.

But you'll say, if the Opinion of *Arius* was so Heterodox, how came it so greatly to prevail in a short time after its rise, that almost the whole Christian World became *Arian*, as *Jerom* complain'd? I answer, that if by [becoming *Arian*] be understood embracing the genuine Tenets of *Arius*, with *Jerom's* leave it is not true, that the greatest part of Christians was *Arian*. In the days of *Constantius* indeed, and some time after, very many came over to the *Arians*; but few, comparatively speaking, to *Arianism*. Those deceitful Mortals concealed their impious Doctrines, and professed their Faith in Words, which exhibited the antient Catholick Sentiment; unless when they

(d) Theod. Eccl. H. Lib. 1. Ch. 4. p. 16.

† *Αχινοῦντες*, no Rendering, nor Criticism I can meet with, pleases me. *Pocr*, is neither true in fact, nor seems any way significative here. The *Arians* were Powerful, Popular and Intriguing; but if they had not been so, they were unlikely to boast of their Poverty, in delivering their Opinion about an Article of Faith,

found an Audience fit for their Purpose: whence it came to pass, that these were almost every-where taken for, and acknowledg'd as Catholicks, even by those, who heartily detested their Tenets. By this Fraud they got into the Favour, of not only the Christian People, but many over-credulous Bishops. Read the *Arian Creeds* copy'd by *Athanasius* and others, for the most part express'd in such Catholick Terms, that you wou'd scarce believe their Compilers were of another Strain. They say Christ is God, true God, nay true and perfect God by nature; That he is a Creature, they hold to be an abominable Assertion, and profess he existed before all Ages. What Catholick Expression do they not use, except the *Homoousion* or *Consubstantial*? Hence *Hilary*, who lived in this Reign of *Anti-Christianism*, congratulated the Truth, that the Christian People remain'd Catholick under the *Arian* Bishops, with whom they communicated. The innocent People received with all reverence such Bishops as *Constantius* set over them, not knowing the impious Tenets they held; they admitted the *Hereticks*, but never embrac'd their *Heresy*, as not understanding they were guilty of it. The Words of (e) *Hilary* are worthy the recital. Now I think *Anti-Christ* should have been introduc'd and believ'd on by these Wretches with less *Perfidiousness*. They give Christ the Name of God, beause this Name is given to Men. They confess, that he is truly the Son of God, because by the Sacrament of Baptism every one is truly made so. They own him to be before Times and Ages, in such a Sense, as is not to be deny'd of Angels and the Devil. Thus our Lord Christ hath only such Attributes given him as are proper to Angels, or to us: But what is lawfully and truly due to Christ God is deny'd, namely, that he is true God, *i. e.* that his Divinity is the same as the Father's. And even to this day the growth of this Impiety is promoted by Fraud, in so much that the Christian People don't fall away under their *Anti-*

(e) Lib. contra Arian. & Auxent. p. 215.

Christian Priests, whilst they believe that to be the Faith, which is only the Form. They hear that Christ is God, and they think it sincerely spoken; they hear he is the Son of God, and they think, that the Truth or real Essence of God is in the Nativity or Birth of God. They hear that he is before Times, and they think before Times, and Always, to be the same. The Ears of the People are more Holy than the Hearts of the Priests. Thus *Hilary* excellently speaks: But (f) *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, in his Letter to his Namesake of *Constantinople*, testifies, that *Arius* and his first Disciples, after they had been condemn'd in a certain Synod at *Alexandria*, held before that of *Nice*, by dissimulation obtain'd commendatory Letters to other Bishops, which they frequently made use of to confirm those poor Creatures in Error, whom they had deceiv'd. They have endeavour'd, says he, making Excursions against us, to pass over to our Collegues of the same Opinion with us, pretending a desire of Peace and Unity, but really attempting by fair Speeches to infect some of them; desiring fulsome Letters of them, that by reading them to those they have deceiv'd, they may harden them in Impiety, and render them impenitent in their Errors, as having the Suffrage and Sentiment of Bishops with them. They don't confess to them their wicked Life and Doctrine, for which we cast them out; but either say nothing of these Matters, or glossing them with forg'd Words and Letters, they deceive. They catch him that is exposed to Error, by gilding over their pernicious Doctrine with plausible and cunning Speeches, not forbearing to calumniate our pious Principle to all Men. Whence it is, that some have subscribed their Letters, and received them into the Church. If any of the *Arians* question the Credit of this good Man *Alexander*, let him hear two of the most noted of his own Party, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis*. They in their *Penitentiary Libel* write, that they had indeed subscribed the *Nicene*

(f) Theod. E. H. Lib. 1. Ch. 4. p. 10.

Creed

Creed (a), but refus'd the *Anathematism*; and immediately subjoin their Reason for it in these Words: Not as censuring the *Creed*, but as not believing that the Person accused was such an one [as represented] being fully assured that he was not, both by Letters particularly wrote to us by him, and also by personal Discourse with him. What *Valesius* has observ'd is worthy Notice, (b) namely, that this *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* held constant Communion with the Church of *Rome* till his Death. Whence one of these things follows: either, that *Eusebius* was not really an *Arian*, but had believ'd their Professions, and made one of their Party thro too much Credulity; or, that tho he was an *Arian*, he deceiv'd the Church of *Rome* by the same Arts, which the other *Arians* used. Any one will rather think the latter true, who shall attentively read (c) the Letter of *Arius* to this *Eusebius*, and that of this *Eusebius* to *Paulinus* at *Tyre*. Who is not shock'd with the Account *Socrates* gives of (d) *Arius* from the Authentick Letters of *Constantine*? The Emperor willing to make an Experiment upon *Arius*, sent for him to the Palace, and ask'd him, whether he agreed to the Definitions of the *Nicene Council*. He readily, and without delay, subscribed in a Sophistical manner the Definitions of Faith before them. The Emperor amazed, gave him his Oath. By the same Arts he took this also. The Fraud of his Subscription, as I have heard, was this; *Arius*, says my Author, having wrote his own Opinion in a Paper, carry'd it under his Arm, and swore, that he really believed as he had wrote. That this was so, I write from Fame, but that he swore to what he had subscribed, I have read in the Emperor's Epistles. No Man sure can wonder, that the remarkable Divine Vengeance recorded by *Socrates* in the same Place, should follow up-

(a) *Socrates*, Lib. I. Ch. 14. p. 36. (b) Vide *Valesii* notas, p. 145.
(c) *Theod. E. H.* p. 20. Lib. I. Ch. 5, and 6. (d) *Socrates*, *E. H.* Lib. I. Ch. 38. p. 61.

on so detestable a Perjury. Other Ecclesiastical Writers tell the same Story, tho with different Circumstances.

Athanasius, in his Book of the Synods of *Rimine* and *Seleucia*, witnesseth, that *George* the Bishop of *Laodicea* was the first who persuaded the *Arians* to disguise their Impiety in Catholick Expressions. (a) For he reports of *George*, that he wrote to the *Arians*, Why do you blame * *Pope Alexander* for saying the Son is of the Father? Fear not your selves to say, that the Son is of God. For if the Apostle wrote, that all things are of God, and it is manifest that all things were made of nothing, and the Son is a Creature, and one of those things which were made, the Son also may be said to be so of God, as all things are of God. The *Arians* then learn'd of him feignedly to pronounce the Words *is of God*, to use them in a bad Sense.

But the *Arians* seem to have their most specious pretence from the Word *Homoousion*, establish'd by the *Nicene Fathers*. For the *Sophists* complain'd, that they were condemn'd by the *Nicene Fathers* for rejecting one little Word, no where found in the Scriptures, and of dangerous meaning, whereas otherwise they in nothing receded from the Antient Catholick Faith. Many believing this Profession of theirs, not only of the People, but also of the Catholick Bishops, freely gave them the right-hand of Christian Fellowship and Communion; not aware of the *Arian* Perfidy, abhor'd those Catholick Bishops, who closely adhered to the *Homoousion*, as contentious Men, given to Disputations about Words, Disturbers of the Church's Peace for Trifles, nay *Hereticks*, who under that Word conceal'd an Heterodox Sentiment. Now as many as rejected the Word *Homoousion* upon any Score, tho they from their Heart acknowledged the Catholick Meaning of the Word, which the *Nicene Fathers* intended, these, who were very many, were generally accounted *Arians*.

(a) Vol. 2. Tom. 1. Pag. 731. * *Bishop of Alexandria*.

For this Cause chiefly, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* was, I suppose, call'd an *Arian*; namely because, tho he never absolutely dislik'd the *Homoousion*, yea always approv'd it in the Sense of the *Nicene Fathers*, he openly oppos'd *Eustathius* and other celebrated Catholics, who, as he thought, used it in a Sense too favourable to *Sabellianism* (a). What say you to *Theodore* also, (b) who testifies, that the Emperor *Constantius*, a most bitter Enemy to the Defenders of the *Homoousion*, was really always a Catholic? For tho being deceiv'd by his Managers, he did not admit the Word *Homoousion*, he sincerely acknowledg'd the Sense of it: For he called the Word God, the genuine Son begotten of the Father before Ages, and plainly condemn'd those who presum'd to say that he was a Creature. This Testimony of *Theodore* is greatly confirm'd by the Encomium *Gregory* (c) *Nazianzen* gives of *Constantius*, amongst other Names calling him the most Divine Prince, and a very great Lover of Christ. These Praises *Nazianzen* never wou'd have heap'd upon *Constantius*, as a Catholic indeed, and a profess'd Enemy of the *Arians*, if he had imbib'd their Heresy. To this we may add, that the *Arian* Confessions publish'd in their Conventicles assembled under *Constantius*, did most of them profess the same Faith in Words, as the *Nicene Council* decreed, except only the *Homoousion*. For the *Sophists* well knew, that the Emperor's Pious and Catholic Soul could not bear their impious Tenets, if simply and honestly propos'd. Thus, he who was the greatest Patron of the *Arians*, from his Heart abhor'd the genuine Tenets of *Arius*; and again, he who was the severest Persecutor of the Catholics, did always really hold the Catholic Faith and Opinion. This so great a Prodigy appear'd in the Christian World, through the Fraud of the *Arians*, never enough to be detested by all good Men! *Elias Cretensis* (d) does in part expose this Fraud in

(a) See the Observation out of Socrates, Sect. 2. Ch. 1. n. 8.

(b) E. H. Lib. 3. Ch. 3. p. 126. (c) In priori Inveſtiva adv. Julian. p. 63. (d) Comment. in Greg. Naz. p. 813.

these Words. The Emperor seduced by *Hereticks* gave the Impious, Privileges against the Pious, and made Laws against the Orthodox Doctrine. For when the *Arians* craftily and wickedly brought in the Word *Equisubstantial* (so *Elias* renders ἑμοιοῦσιον) instead of *Consubstantial*, the Emperor came into their Sentiment, wrote, that *Equisubstantial* was the same as *Consubstantial*, and of no detriment at all to Piety. This indeed is not *Heterodox* (for that which is like, is not the same with that to which it is like, but partly equal and partly unequal) if piously understood; namely so, as that the Words [without any difference] be taken along with that Word. Hence, moreover, the *Hereticks* got free power, and so rejected the Word *Consubstantial*. But if I wou'd fully explain all the (a) *Crafty Arts* of the *Arians*, in propagating their impious

(a) *Logical Niceties, Equivocal Expressions, Occasional Salvos and Reserves, Refusal of Antient Testimony, Intrigues with Ministers of State, Subornation of Evidence, Insinuations of ill Practices or Inclinations towards the Government, Offers of Preferment, and the most inhuman Force upon the Minds, the Bodies and Properties of their Adversaries; Arts, as our Learned and Good Bishop says, Crafty and Impious too; but yet so generally used, as that the most careless Reader may be left to himself to observe upon them, thro the whole course of the Arian History.*

One Artifice more flagrant than the rest, was an attempt to draw off the People from their Zeal for the Doctrine, by representing the Controversy as too minute, and concerning matters that might as well be let alone. The Writers of the present Age have come up to them, if not exceeded them in this particular: But the Case is much mistaken: For the Doctrine of the Son's Divinity was rigidly insisted upon, but some particulars in explaining it, were thought too subtle. The Arian side we generally find charged with these Subtleties. Dr. Whitby cites Socrates to this purpose. There Constantine writes, that the Controversy was not about a Principal Doctrine, but concerning very small Matters, vain and unnecessary things, without which there might be Unity in Faith and Opinion. Whoever will look into the Ecclesiastical Historians, will find this to be all misrepresentation. Any of them will inform him, that the Doctrine was held to be a Principal one, but the Explication subtle, vain, unnecessary, dangerous to be attempted by weak Men, and perplexing to the Populace. I shall only take Notice of a few Words in Eusebius and Socrates, which the Doctor has not observed,

pious Sentiment, the Conclusion of this Book would make another: Wherefore I will here make an end. From what we have discoursed in this Work, it is plain, the *Nicene* is the Faith once delivered to the Saints, and always religiously preserved in the Catholick Church of Christ. Let us therefore bravely contend for this Faith, as it becomes Men inflam'd with an Holy Zeal for God; and let us constantly persevere in it to the end of our Lives. God grant we may.

To the most Holy and Undivided Trinity, God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, be all Praise Glory and Honour, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

observed, and which some of his Friends like, as they are at present falsely translated. Constantine writes thus: When you, Alexander, ask'd the Opinion of your Presbyters concerning a certain Place in the Law, or rather concerning the [Ἰνδὸς μαλαίῃς ζήνματός μέρεσ] a part of an idle Question. Here Valesius's usual Diligence and Acumen have forsaken him; for if he had collated this place with Eusebius, he wou'd have found ζήνσεως read, not ζήνματος, which (tho indeed he has there translated it as tho he had read ζήνματος) will force us to translate [concerning an idle, or vain part of a Question] and that too such an one, as was necessary and in general common to the Oribodox and the Arians. Ἀλλ' ἐνὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχον λογισμὸν. (Euseb. p. 391) namely the Divinity of our Lord; the nominal Profession of which, the Antient Arians greatly gloried in, earnestly contended for, and declared absolutely necessary.





THE
J U D G M E N T
OF THE
Catholick Church
OF THE
Three First CENTURIES,
CONCERNING

The Necessity of Believing, That our LORD
JESUS CHRIST is true GOD;

Asserted against M. SIMON EPISCOPIUS, and others.

P R E F A C E.



W H E N I formerly perus'd the Theological Institutions of Episcopus, upon reading the Chapter Concerning the Necessity of believing the Manner, in which Jesus Christ was the Son of God, (a) I wrote, or rather drew the Out-Lines of, an Answer, for my own use, to the Arguments, by which the learned

(a) Ch. 34. Lib. 4. Sect. 2.

Man has there endeavour'd to prove, that the Article concerning the Divine Generation of the Son of God, our Saviour, from God the Father before Ages, was not taken in the Primitive Churches, for an Article necessary to be believed in order to Salvation; and that those Churches held Communion with such as deny'd it; with such as believed and taught, that Christ was a mere Man, and did not exist before the Blessed Virgin. This short Answer I have enlarg'd, and considerably augmented at the Instances of my Friends, having added to it three whole Chapters; in which, if I mistake not, I have clearly confuted Episcopius's Opinion, from the Testimonies of the First Fathers and Ecclesiastical History.

My Reason for publishing this Piece, such as it is, I'll give you in a few Words. Our own Nation within these few Years has produced several Books, in which the impious Authors, boldly defending sometimes the Arian, sometimes the Samosatene Heresy, have with all their Power attempted to destroy the Chief Article of our Faith; that, upon which the Whole of Christianity depends; namely, That of the Son of God born of God the Father before all Ages, very God of very God, by whom all things were made, who for our Salvation was incarnate, and made Man. The Censure that great Man Zanchius passes upon Socinus, and others of the same Strain in his days, I may justly apply to them: (a) I have read, but with great Indignation, the foolish Dotage of our Modern Arians and Photinians; and can affirm this, that they fall far short of the Antient Hereticks. Every thing is either endless Repetition, or fresh Absurdity. That these vain Men might neither glory against the Truth, nor seduce the Infirm, some of our own Country, Persons of Piety and Learning, have opposed their Books, and upon that account recommended themselves to the Favour and Applause of all good Men.

Among these have appeared a sort of Men, as Mediators, of a pacificatory Genius, and an odd Design, to bring together Contraries, and reconcile the Catholick Church and Hereticks, i. e. Christ and Belial. These Men, tho they pro-

(a) Ep. Dedicat. to his Book de Tribus Elohim.

fess (I wish, sincerely) to believe, as the Catholicks do, the Truth of the Article, that the Son is Co-essential with God; suppose you need not insist upon it, that to Salvation it is sufficient to believe, no matter how, in Jesus Christ the Son of God and Saviour of Mankind, and that you need not trouble yourself, whether he is only mere Man, by Grace and Adoption made a God, and promoted to Divine Honours; or whether he is really and by Nature God. They defend this their Opinion by much the same Arguments, as Episcopus has borrowed from Socinus. They talk loud, that the Nicene Fathers first establish'd the Consubstantiality of the Son, and rashly guarded it with an Anathema; but that the Primitive Church, more moderate, and as became a tender Mother, received those into her Bosom, who believed our Saviour nothing more than Man. This they go about to prove from the Creed commonly called the Apostles, and from a celebrated Passage in (a) Justin Martyr. This is also their Boast, and how little there is in it, the following Treatise will shew.

The Assertion of Episcopus, upon which they vainly build, and which I have undertaken to refute, is unbecoming any Man of Probity, and even a slender Acquaintance with the Fathers and Church History. I charge not Episcopus with Improbability. Charity forbids me to do that, and indeed I cannot think it. Was he ignorant then? No. But he can never escape the Censure of being inconsiderate, to pronounce so boldly in a matter of such importance, concerning the Opinion of the Primitive Church, before he well knew it himself; and to do the greatest dishonour to the Doctors, Bishops, Confessors and Martyrs of the best Ages, in representing them as perfectly indifferent in defending the chief Article of the Christian Religion. Thus the Case must stand. The Ingenious, and in many respects the very Learned Man had not carefully consulted, had absolutely despised the Antients. Hear what he says in his Answer to (b) Father Wading's empty Boasts of Fathers and Councils. He speaks his Mind

(a) *Dial. with Trypho.* (b) *Episcopus ad Wading. de Cultu Imaginum, Vol. 1. p. 132. Ed. Bleau, Amsterd.*

very freely in these Words: I'll tell you my Thoughts once for all. You shall never engage me in that drudgery, my Friend; I seek no applause from such low Enterprizes, nor envy them the Glory of their great Reading, and capacious Memory, who are pleased to spend all their time and pains in those wild Researches of Fathers and Councils. I am not for buying Repentance at such a Price. With him forsooth! diligently to peruse the laudable Study of the Fathers and Councils, is only to be spoken of in a Proverb of Contempt. It is only a low Ambition, a Loss of Time and Labour; something that will bring you to Repentance. A little after in the same Place he endeavours weakly to depreciate their Works, is out of humour with the Name and Style of Fathers usually given them, and at length thus concludes: (a) This is the Reason why I do not give myself much Trouble about them.

But Oh, that he had here excepted the Fathers of the three first Ages at least! Had he spent more of his Time and Study upon them, he would have been more useful to himself and the Church of Christ. He would never have so far engaged in the Defence of Arius and Socinus, as to palliate that Doctrine of theirs concerning the Person of our Saviour, as Erroneous perhaps, but not Heretical, from the Authority and Judgment of the Primitive Churches; which Doctrine all those Churches had unanimously condemn'd for a very pernicious, and a mortal Heresy.

I think you have this abundantly prov'd in the Dissertation I now present to you, which may serve as the Complement, or Finishing of my Defence of the Nicene Creed, publish'd some Years ago. For as in that Work, I have vindicated the Nicene Creed from the Calumnies of Hereticks, and fully shewn the Doctrine of it exactly agreeable to the Faith of the Catholick Church in the three first Centuries (without a Reply, that I know of, from the Adversaries of the Holy Synod) so in this Piece I maintain and defend the Anathematism annex'd to that Creed. For it is hence plain,

(a) P. 132, and 133.

that the Nicene Fathers, agreeably to the Judgment of the first Churches, even from the Days of the Apostles, had establish'd their Creed under this Anathematism: (a) The Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church anathematizes those that say that the Time was, when he was not, and he was not before he was born, and he was made of nothing; and that affirm he was of another Substance or Essence, or created, or convertible, or mutable. All pious and sober Men must revere this Judgment of the whole Church of Christ in all times; and of consequence beware of, and entirely abhor the Heresy of the Samosatensians and Arians, which deny their God. Do you so, Reader, I seriously exhort you, whoever you are. Farewel.



T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N.



THE very learned Episcopi^{us} in his *Theological Institutions* shews, (b) That God is called the Father of Jesus Christ, and that Jesus Christ is called the Son of God the Father, even as he is Man, in an eminent manner, in Holy Scriptures four ways; namely, upon account of his Conception by the Holy Spirit, his Mediatorial Office, his Resurrection from the Dead, and his Exaltation at the Father's Right-hand: He then adds, and proves it from certain Places of Holy Scriptures, and from Scriptural Consequence (tho he behaves very coolly in all the Disputation of this important Truth) that Jesus Christ is also the Son of God upon another and a more excellent account than any of those

(a) *Socrates*, p. 21, 22, cap. 8. Lib. 1. (b) Lib. 4. Sect. 2, c. 33. p. 334. &c. Vol. 1.

four, namely upon such an one, as could not respect him as Man; because the Scripture frequently speaks so of Jesus Christ, i. e. He who was afterwards called Jesus Christ, as that it can scarce be doubted, whether he existed really, as the true and only Son of the Father, before he was born Man of Mary his Mother, and consequently (as he afterwards more fully explains himself) before the Creation, and that in such a manner, as to be the Author of it, and therefore God.

He puts this Question, after his manner, at last: (a) *Whether that fifth Manner of Jesus Christ's Filiation be necessary to be known and believed, in order to Salvation; and those Persons are to be anathematiz'd, who deny it?* He undertakes to defend the Negative by three Arguments. Leaving the two former to be discussed by others, I propose to examine the last only, as properly falling to my Lot. His Argument is this: (b)

The Faith and Profession of this special Filiation, was not judged necessary to be known and believed in order to Salvation, in the Primitive Churches, down from the Apostles during three Centuries at least. Therefore there is no reason, why it should be thought necessary now. The Consequence is clear from the Rule of Vincentius Lirinensis: What is necessary to be known and believed in order to Salvation, must have been determin'd to be held and believed as such every where, by all, and always.

The Consequence we readily embrace; but the Antecedent (to pass by *Episcopus* his Solæcism, that the Faith and Profession, &c. was not necessary to be known and believed, &c. whereas doubtless he would have said, that Faith and Profession, &c. were not necessary to Salvation) we contend is plainly false, and will abundantly prove it in this Work.

One thing we must premise to our Reader, That the Judgment of the first Churches, concerning the Necessity of this, or any other Article of our Religion, cannot be otherwise better known by us, their late

(a) Ch. 34. p. 338.

(b) P. 339. in fine.

Posterity, than first by consulting the extant Writings and Monuments of the Catholick Fathers, and more celebrated Doctors in those Churches, that we may thence know their Thoughts upon the Question; and then by searching Ecclesiastical History, concerning those, who in the first Ages deny'd the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may understand what Judgment the Churches of those times pass'd upon them; whether they retain'd them in their Communion, or rejected them as Aliens from Christ's Body. There is indeed a third Method of distinguishing what Doctrines the Primitive Church held necessary to be believed; namely, by the Symbols and Confessions of Faith, which she required of all, who desired to enjoy her Communion. We don't decline this Method, nay we readily accept it, as will appear hereafter: But for as much as very many, in these worst of Times, interpret the Antient Creeds, as well as the Holy Scriptures, not according to the Rule of the Catholick Church (which *Vincentius* has told us of) but according to their own Pleasure; and for as much as *Episcopus* and his Followers have drawn an Argument for their Opinion from the Creed, commonly called the Apostles, I think it better to defer what I have to say of Creeds, till I come to answer their Reasonings from them.

These things premis'd, we shall easily refute *Episcopus*'s Assertion in this Method. (1.) I will bring the Testimonies of the First Fathers, very plainly teaching, That the Doctrine of the true Divinity of Christ is absolutely necessary to be believed in order to Salvation. (2.) I will shew from Ecclesiastical History, that never any one deny'd the Divine Generation of our Lord Jesus Christ from God the Father before all Ages, who was not excommunicated for it, and deem'd an *Heretick*. Lastly, I will put in a full Answer to those Arguments, which *Episcopus* has used, in order to prove his point. This is the End and Design of our Dissertation.

C H A P.



C H A P. I.

*The Testimonies of the Primitive Fathers,
That the Article of our Lord's Divinity is
absolutely necessary to be believ'd, in order
to Salvation.*

- I.  will begin with the Testimonies of the first Fathers. *Ignatius*, a contemporary Bishop with the Apostles, or at least with *St. John*, in his genuine Epistles, publish'd by *Is. Vossius*, very often inculcates the Doctrine of Christ, God and Man, true God, and true Man, as absolutely necessary to be believ'd, against the Hereticks of that Age, who denied either of Christ's Natures. So, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, after he had recited their Praises, which *Onesimus* their Bishop had given of them; namely, that they held fast the orthodox and apostolick Doctrine, and kept themselves pure from Heresy: he admonishes them to persevere in the Catholick Faith, using all Caution against Hereticks, who at that time were cunningly sowing their Tares in the Field of the Church. His Words are these: *There are some who are wont to bear about the Name [of Christ] deceitfully, but act such things as are unworthy of God. Such you ought to avoid as Beasts. For they are mad Dogs, they bite privately. You ought to beware of them, as being themselves in a desperate State, difficultly to be cur'd, [and therefore dangerously infectious.]* The celebrated Place concerning the two Natures of Christ is subjoin'd: *There is one Physician, carnal and spiritual, made and unmade, God incarnate, the true Life in Death, both of Mary and of God.* Immediately

mediately follows: *Therefore let no Man deceive you, i. e.* in that great Truth explain'd to you in the Words preceding, concerning the two Natures of our Saviour. It is therefore very plain that the Hereticks noted by (a) *Ignatius*, denied the apostolical Doctrine of Christ being God and Man; and that the apostolical Man therefore censur'd them, as mad Dogs, biting privately, and injecting the deadly Poison of their Doctrine into the Minds of Men, as Persons to be entirely avoided by all who would consult their own Salvation.

It is moreover observable, that after the holy Man had said these Hereticks were in the utmost Danger of their eternal Salvation, he gives this Reason for thus speaking, immediately: *For there is one Physician, carnal and spiritual, &c.* As if he should have said, there is no Salvation for Men, but through that one Physician of Souls, Christ, who is God and Man, and the Mediator between God and Man: But these Men will not allow, don't acknowledge any such Physician and Mediator; therefore their Salvation is desperate, unless they at length seriously repent of their Heresy, embrace, and with all Devotion reverence God the Son, incarnate and made Man for their Salvation.

The same Person afterwards, in the same Epistle, again pronounces these Hereticks worse than the worst of Men; he assigns them and their Followers to the Flames of Hell, and calls their Opinion a diabolical Doctrine. These are his Words: (b) *Be not deceiv'd, my Brethren. They that defile the House, [their Bodies, by Adultery] shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. If then they who have done this in a carnal Sense [defil'd their own Bodies, which are call'd the Temples of the Holy Ghost, &c.] are dead or perish'd; how much more shall he who corrupts the * Faith of God, for*

(a) Pag. 13. Vol. 2. Patr. Apost. (b) P. 15.

* Archbishop Usher reads, [the Church] which preserves the Antithesis.

which Jesus Christ was crucify'd, by evil Doctrine. Such an one is become defil'd, and shall go into unquenchable Fire, as shall also his Hearer. And a little after, (a) Be ye not anointed with the ill Savour of the Doctrine of the Prince of this World. He then proposes the Apostolical Faith, as opposite to this evil diabolical Doctrine, in these Words: Our God Jesus Christ was conceiv'd by Mary, according to the Disposition of God, of the Seed of David, and of the Holy Spirit. The mild Ignatius therefore thunders against these Seducers and Seduced; therefore threatens them with eternal Fire, because they endeavour'd to subvert the chief Truth of the Christian Religion [that great Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the Flesh] of which every true Church, as the Apostle tells us, (b) should be the Pillar and Basis; by professing it, defending it by her Testimony, and preserving it by her preaching the Gospel. There were in the Times of Ignatius two sorts of Hereticks who attempted this Impiety, as contrary to one another, as they both were to the Truth; the one attributing to our Saviour a certain Divine Nature, absolutely divested him of the Human, affirming, that he only imaginarily liv'd, suffer'd, and died among Men, as a Man. Of this Heresy were the *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, *Saturninians*, &c. all which the latter Ages therefore call'd *Docetæ* and *Phantasiastæ*. The other, on the Reverse, only acknowledg'd an human Nature in Christ, namely, the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*. It is not easy to say, whether is the more dangerous Heresy; though the latter indeed does plainly reflect more upon the Dignity of our Lord's Person. The Learned agree, and it is in itself clear, that Ignatius had an eye to them both, as well in other Parts of his Epistles, as in the Places cited. Whosoever shall read these Passages, without Prejudice and Partiality, can never surely be of *Episcopi*'s mind, or believe that the Doctrine concerning the true Divinity of our

(a) P. 16. (b) 1 Tim. Chap. v. 15, 16.

Lord Jesus Christ, was not judg'd necessary to be believ'd, in order to Salvation in the primitive Church, much less that she held Communion with those that deny'd it, a thing *Episcopus* has ventur'd to affirm. Thus much for *Ignatius*.

2. We shall prove the same of *Justin* in a more proper Place, notwithstanding the Use *Episcopus* and his Followers make of him, for want of Candour or Skill.

3. In the mean time, let *Irenæus* succeed *Ignatius*. He, in his Youth, was a constant and a diligent Hearer of *Polycarp*, a Disciple of the Apostle (a); so that in his old Age, he very well retained the Words and Doctrine of that blessed Man, and therefore could easily be inform'd by him, what the Apostolical Church deem'd to be heretical. Now he, as well as *Ignatius*, every where in his Writings rejects those as Hereticks who denied Christ to be God-Man, true God and true Man, and pronounces them Aliens from the saving Knowledge of Christ. His Words concerning the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians* are very clear: (b) *But they again who say he is barely Man, begotten of Joseph, are dead, continuing in the Servitude of their former Disobedience, being not yet incorporate with the Word of God the Father, not through the Son obtaining Liberty, as he himself saith; If the Son make you free, then are you free indeed. Now not knowing him, who, born of the Virgin, is God with us, they are depriv'd of his Gift, which is eternal Life; and not receiving the incorruptible Word, they abide in the mortal Flesh, and are obnoxious to Death, not partaking of the enlivening Antidote.* Here he charges the Hereticks with two Errors, teaching that Christ is Man begotten of Man, not born of a pure Virgin; and that he is Man, and nothing else. Upon both these Errors, he denies their Salvation, affirming that they are dead, continuing in the Servitude of their

(a) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 5. chap. 20.

(b) Lib. 3. chap. 21. p. 286.

former Disobedience; that they don't obtain Liberty thro' the Son; that they are depriv'd of the Gift of Christ, which is eternal Life; and lastly, are obnoxious to Death. Now he therefore especially pronounces this dreadful Sentence upon them, because they have not known Immanuel, or God with us, because they have not receiv'd the incorruptible Word, resting in the mortal Flesh; i. e. because they have not acknowledg'd the Divine, Incorruptible, and Immortal Nature of Christ.

Parallel to these are his Words against the Ebionites in particular. (a) *The Ebionites are mistaken, not receiving into their Souls the Union of God and Man by Faith.* And a little after, (b) *These therefore reject the Mixture of the Heavenly Wine, and will have the Earthly Water only, not taking God into their (c) Cup. They rest in that Adam, who was overcome and expell'd Paradise, not considering that, as from the beginning of our Formation in Adam, the Breath of Life, which was from God, united to Matter, animated the Man, and exhibited the rational Animal; so in the end, the Word of the Father, and the Spirit of God, united to the antient Substance of our Formation, hath made the living and perfect Man.* To these, add the Passage of Irenæus, cited by Theodoret; (d) *He will ask the Ebionites, how can they be sav'd, except he was God, who wrought the Salvation upon Earth? Or how shall Man go to God, unless God come to Man?*

4. (e) *Tertullian affirms, that the Article concerning the Generation of God the Son, from God the Father, before Ages, is certainly part of that Rule of Faith, which hath among Christians no Questions or Controversies but what Heresies introduce, and which make Hereticks.* This Place I shall cite at large hereafter; but besides, I shall in this Chapter, bring a remarkable Testimony for the Necessity of this Article, from *Tertullian*, as you'll find by and by.

(a) Lib. 5. chap. 1. p. 433. (b) Ibid. (c) Commixtionem.
(d) Lib. 4. chap. 59. p. 397. (e) Tertull. p. 207.

5. To *Tertullian*, we must join *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity in *Tertullian's* Works. In *that Book*, he condemns their Doctrine, as the most dangerous Heresy, and contumelious to the Father himself, who deny the Divinity of Christ, and say he is a mere Man, or a Creature. Thus he discourages: (a) *For it is very dangerous to say, that the Saviour of Mankind, the Lord and Prince of the whole World, to whom all things are given and granted by the Father, by whom all things were design'd, made, and dispos'd, the King of all Ages and Times, the Prince of all Angels, before whom nothing was, except the Father †, to say that he is only Man, and to deny his Divine Authority in these Things. This Contumely of the Hereticks, will redound to God the Father also; as though God the Father could not beget himself a Son: But the Blindness of Hereticks must not prescribe to Truth. Again, the same Person expressly teaches, that he can't be sav'd, who does not own Christ to be God: (b) Why then should we scruple to say, what the Scripture does not scruple? Why should a true Faith hesitate, where the Authority of Scripture is clear? Behold the Prophet Hosea speaking in the Person of the Father; Now I will not save them by the Bow, or by Horsemen, but I will save them * by the Lord their God. If God, says he, saves by God, when he saves no otherwise than by Christ; why then should Man doubt to call Christ God, whom he observes styled God by the Father in Scripture? Nay, if God the Father saves not but by God, and no one can be sav'd by God the Father, unless he confess Christ to be God, in whom and by whom the Father promises to give Salvation; as whosoever acknowledges him to be God, shall surely find Salvation in Christ God; so whosoever does not acknowledge him to be God, must lose that*

(a) Pag. 713.

† These Words of *Novatian* are explain'd in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 3. chap. 8. §. 7.

(b) Ibid. & 714.

* By the Word of the Lord their God. So *Jonathan's Targum*; and the Fathers generally expound the Place of Christ the Word and Son of God. See the Def. of the Nic. F. Sect. 1. chap. 1. sect. 19.

Salva-

Salvation, which he can't any where else find but in Christ God. Lastly, speaking of both the sorts of Hereticks, those that say the Father is the Son, and those who deny the Son to be God, he truly and elegantly says, (a) *That our Lord is indeed crucify'd, as it were, between two Thieves, as he once was, and so receives the sacrilegious Reproaches of Hereticks on both sides.*

6. I now come to Origen, who, if any of the Antients, was a Free-thinker in Divinity, a Latitudinarian Father : But for all this, *discourfing* professedly of the necessary Articles of Christian Faith, he expressly gives this concerning the Son's Divinity a Place among the first. The Passage is a very remarkable one, and therefore I'll give it you, though something long. It is thus in the Apology of Pamphilus Martyr : (b) *Whereas there are many, who think they understand Christianity, and yet some of them differ from their Ancestors ; and whereas the Doctrine of the Church is preserv'd, being deliver'd down from the Apostles by the Order of Succession, and remains in the Churches to this very Time, that only is to be believ'd true, which in nothing differs from the Church's Tradition. Now we must know that the holy Apostles, when they preach'd the Christian Faith, treated very plainly concerning some Points, which they believ'd necessary to Salvation for all Believers, though before those who were not forward in their Search after divine Knowledge ; leaving the Reason of their Assertions to be enquir'd into by those, who should be thought worthy to receive from the Spirit the excellent Gifts of the Spirit, and especially the Gifts of the Word of Wisdom and Knowledge. Of other Points, they only said, that they were, but said nothing how, or whence they were ; that so all those of their Posterity, who were more studious than others, and Lovers of Knowledge and Wisdom, might have Scope for the Exercise of their Wit, namely, those who should make themselves worthy and capable of Wisdom. Now the Particulars, which*

(a) Pag. 728.

(b) *Among Jerome's Works, Tom. 9. p. 115, 116. Ed. Victor.*

were plainly treated in the Apostolical Instruction, are these. First, That there is one God, who made and compos'd all things, and who made them out of nothing, &c. That this God, as he had promised before by his Prophets, sent the Lord Jesus Christ in the last Days, &c. Then that this Jesus Christ, who came, was born of the Father, before every Creature. That he, when he had minister'd to the Father in the Creation of all things (for by him were all things made) emptying himself in the last Days, was made Man: Was incarnate, tho' God; and remain'd God, tho' made Man. In these Words Origen says, that the Doctrine of the Son's Divinity was part of the Ecclesiastical Instruction deliver'd by the Apostles themselves, and always preserv'd in the Churches; and whereas the Apostolical Doctrine was of different Kinds, he places this Article among those, which they treated of very plainly, as being necessary for all, even the more rude and ignorant Believers.

In the same Apology (a) is cited Origen's Book upon the Epistle to Titus. In this Book, upon these Words, *An Heretick reject after the third Admonition*, he comments thus: The Name of Heresy, as far as I can find, is thus also mark'd out in the Epistle to the Corinthians. For there must be Heresies, that those who are approv'd may be made manifest among you. And again to the Galatians, Heresy is reckon'd among the Works of the Flesh: Now the Works of the Flesh are manifest, which are these, Fornication, Uncleannefs, Wantonness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Enmity, Contentions, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Discord, Heresies, &c. of which I have told you before, that they who do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. By these Words we understand, that as they who are defil'd by Fornication, Uncleannefs, and the Worship of Idols, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God; so neither shall they who are gone off to Heresy. Wherefore, according to the Apostle, we must as well avoid the Imputation

(a) Pag. 117.

of Heresy, as the other Evils enumerated by him, and not so much as join in Prayers with such Persons. A little after, *Origen* shews who are to be accounted Hereticks, in these Words: *Let us describe as well as we can what an Heretick is. Every one who professes to believe in Christ, and yet says there is one God of the Law and the Prophets, and another of the Gospels, &c. Our Opinion must be the same concerning those who have any false Notions of our Lord Jesus Christ, whether according to them, who say he was born of Joseph and Mary, such are the Ebionites and (a) Valentinians; or according to them who deny him to be the First-born, the God of the whole Creation, the Word, and Wisdom, which is the Beginning of the Ways of God, begotten before any thing was made, before the Foundation of the Worlds, before all the Hills; and who say that he is only Man. Sure nothing can be clearer than these Words.*

7. *Dionysius*, the famous Bishop of Rome, who flourish'd not long after *Origen*, in his Epistle against the *Sabellians*, cited by *Athanasius*, calls the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, *the most venerable Doctrine of the Church of God*, which no one was in the least to violate. He charges those also, who dar'd affirm that the Son of God was a Creature, and something made, not only with Heresy, but the greatest Blasphemy: *It is then, says (b) he, no ordinary Blasphemy, nay the greatest, to say the Lord was in any respect made; for if the Son was made, there was a Time when he was not, but he always was.* It is certain then, that in the Days of *Dionysius*, the Church of Rome, then truly the most honourable of all Churches, thought the Article of the Son's eternal Generation absolutely necessary to be believ'd; and did not hold Communion with those who did not acknowledge Christ to be God, but affirm'd he was a Creature.

(a) See *Huetius* upon *Origen's Comment.* p. 120.

(b) *Tomi prim. pars prim.* p. 231, 232.

8. It would be endless to lay before you all the Testimonies of the Fathers to this purpose; wherefore to what has been alledg'd, I will only add this general Observation, namely, that in the first Ages there was a very great Controversy between the *Jews* and *Christians*, concerning the Person of Christ, whether he was to be God and Man, as the Prophets had foretold, or only mere Man. The *Jews* and some *Judaizing Christians* affirmed the latter, and objected the *Gentile Polytheism* to those who asserted the Divinity of Christ: The former, all the *Catholick Christians* strenuously defended, as the Ground of their Faith and Salvation, so as to esteem those Aliens from the Church of Christ, and Renegadoes to the Synagogue, who, tho' found in all other respects, deny'd this Point. It seem'd indeed the very same thing to them to deny Jesus to be the Christ, as to deny him to be God.

9. When *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, endeavoured to shew, that Christ foretold by the Prophets was God, and was to be born Man of a Virgin, *Trypho* objects thus: (a) *It does not only seem strange to me, but absurd, that you should say, this Christ was God, and pre-existed before Ages; then condescended to be born, being made Man, and that he was not Man of Man.* To which *Justin* replies: *I know this matter seems strange, and especially to the Men of your Nation, who are neither willing to understand, or do the things of God, but those of your own Masters, as God himself complains. Origen* (b) blames his *Epicurean*, that in personating a *Jew* he had not observ'd decorum, but put into his mouth, Words that did not agree with his Character, namely these: *My Prophet formerly prophesy'd in Jerusalem, that the Son of God would come a Judge of the Pious, and an Avenger of the Injust.* He then gives the Reason of this Reprehension: (c) *A Jew would not have confess'd that any Prophet said, the Son of God would come.* For what they

(a) See the whole Passage at Large hereafter. (b) *Origen against Celsus*, p. 38. (c) *Ibid.*

say, is, that the Christ of God will come. And they often dispute with us directly concerning the Son of God, as tho' there was no such Person nor any such Prophecy. He again (a) upbraids Celsus with the same thing: Nor does he know this, that the Jews don't at all say, that Christ will descend, or come into the World, as being God, or the Son of God.

10. Tertulian writes (b) more apposite to this Observation: Now the Jewish Faith is this, so to believe one God, as not to own besides him the Son, and besides the Son the Spirit. For otherwise, what difference would there be between them and us? What need of the Gospel, which is the Substance of the New Testament, and determines, that the Law and the Prophets are till John; unless from that Time the three, Father, Son and Spirit believed [on by us] exhibite to us one God? God was pleas'd to renew the Covenant with us, as that he should now a-new be believed one by the Son and Spirit; as that God should now be openly known in his proper Names and Persons, who antiently being preached by the Son and Spirit, was not understood. Let the Anti-Christis then look to it, who deny the Father and the Son, &c. But what Novatian says (c) upon that Place of St. John, [*Tho I testify of myself, my Testimony is true, because I know whence I came, and whither I go. But ye know not whence I come, nor whither I go. Ye judge according to the Flesh*] is most to the purpose, and very good: Behold here he says, that he will return thither, whence he says he came before; He was sent from Heaven. He descended then whence he came, as he goes thither, whence he descended. Wherefore, if Christ had only been a Man, he had not come thence (d); but by coming from whence Man can't come, he shews himself to have been God, who came. Now the Jews, ignorant and not appriz'd of this his Descent, made these Men their Heirs in the Heresy; to whom it is said, You know not whence I come, nor

(a) P. 162. (b) P. 518. (c) Novatian. c. 23.

(d) These Words are omitted in the Bishop's Citation: And consequently had not gone thither, because he did not come from thence.

whither I go: You judge according to the *Flesh*. The Jews, as well as they, held only the Carnal Nativity of Christ, and believed Christ to be nothing else but Man; not considering, that, as Man could not come from Heaven, so as to challenge a Return thither, he must be God, who descended thence, whence Man could not come.

11. In this respect the Author (whoever he was) of the Epistle to *Hero* the Deacon, ascribed to *Ignatius*, is worthy Notice, because he condemns their Heresy, who deny the Divinity of Christ, as a Jewish Impiety and Blasphemy. These are his Words: (a) *If any one says the Lord is a mere Man, he is a Jew, a Murderer of Christ.* The same Author, probably, has Words much to the same purpose in the Epistle to the *Antiochians*, where he exhorts them (b) *to throw off all Jewish and Gentile Error; and neither to introduce a multitude of Gods, nor under the pretence of one God to deny Christ.* And a little after he adds: *Whosoever then preaches one only God, so as to destroy the Divinity of Christ, (c) is the Devil, and an Enemy of all Righteousness.*

12. Lastly the great *Athanasius* has (according to custom) excellently express'd the Sense of the Primitive Catholick Church in this Point: The Jews, says (d) he, *have a great deal to say against Idolaters, and justly, accusing them of Worshipping the Creature besides the Creator. But tho' they blame this Impiety, they are not therefore Pious, when they deny the Son of God, by whom all things were made, and charge us with Polytheism for Worshipping the Father by him. We therefore came out of, and are separate from the Gentiles, that we might not be engaged in their impure Idolatries; and we also are come out of the Blasphemy of the Jews, confessing the Son of God.* A little after: (e) *We differ from the Judaizers, who corrupt Christianity with Judaism, and denying him who is God of God, affirm, as the Jews do, that there is one God;*

(a) Tom. 2, P. A. p. 114. (b) Ibid. p. 109, and 110. (c) Or a Calumniator, as the old Version seems to render *Filius Diaboli*.
(d) Tom. Sec. p. 37. (e) Ibid.

not therefore saying that he is the only God, as he is only unbegotten, only the Fountain of the Deity; but as being without a Son, a living Word and Wisdom. What follows in *Athanasius* is very well worth reading, namely, what he [Excellent Man] says from ver. 1. of Chap. 1. of *St. John*, and from Reason, to prove it impossible God should be rightly conceiv'd One in the Sense of the *Jews*, and *Judaizing Hereticks*, i. e. that he should only be one Person; whereas it is necessary, that God, who is an eternal Mind, should have in and with him his Word, not such as the Human, but a Living and Subsisting Word, and therefore a Person: and as this Word is from God the Father, therefore a Divine Person distinct from the Father; and yet because the Word is in the Father, and the Father's Word, therefore one God with the Father. But these things belong to another Head.

13. Before I conclude this Head, it may be useful to take a transient View of the *Jews* Notion concerning their *Messiah*. Now, it is observable, that their Prophets, have in many Places plainly signify'd, that the *Messiah* was to be God and Man together, as is largely shewn by (a) *Justin Martyr* among the Antients. The Noble and Learned (b) *Du Plessis* hath fully proved, that the more understanding part of the *Hebrew Doctors* were not altogether ignorant of it. However, it is certain that the generality of the *Jews*, even in our Saviour's time, had but a mean and low Notion of their *Messiah*, thinking him to be no more than a Man. Thus we read (c) the Holy Jesus caught the captious *Jews* by this Question; *What think you of Christ? Whose Son is he?* For when they answer'd; *The Son of David*, (for they expected a *Messiah*, who should be merely the Son of *David*, not dreaming of the Son of God) our Saviour urg'd them with this

(a) See the Dialogue with Trypho. (b) Of the true Christian Religion, Ch. 28. (c) Matt. Ch. 22. v. 42.

further

further difficult Question, *How then doth David by the Spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord? If then David call him Lord, how is he his Son?* This gravell'd the *Pharisees*, which, upon supposition that they had a Notion of Christ's Divinity, would have been easily answer'd. They might have said, that Christ indeed was to be the Son of *David* according to the *Flesh*; but his Lord, with respect to his Divine Nature.

This Notion of the *Jews* had its Original doubtless from their gross and carnal Conceptions of the *Messiah*. They expected he should be a glorious King, Rich and Powerful, so as to exalt their Sceptre and Nation above all the Empires of the World; that he should subdue all the Enemies of his People, and having laid the Empress of the Earth, haughty *Rome*, in Ruins, should advance *Jerusalem* to her Metropolitick Dignity. What occasion had such a *Messiah* for Divinity? All these things a *Cyrus*, an *Alexander*, or a *Cæsar*, with the Divine Providence, might have accomplish'd: Not to say, that such an Earthly Kingdom would have been absolutely unworthy of God. No wonder then, if the *Jews* thus thinking of their *Messiah*, never acknowledg'd his Divine Nature.

14. But that there are, or ever were Men of such Notions among the Christians, who have been clearly taught in the Gospel things much more Holy and Sublime of their Christ, is exceeding strange indeed. To say nothing of those Places in the Old Testament, which immediately respect his Divinity, in which he is proclaimed the Son of God, and God before Ages, by whom all things were made (Places so many and so plain, that he must be wilfully blind, who does not see them) even those Places, which speak of the *Œconomy*, which relate to his Office or Honour, as he is our *Messiah* and *Mediator*, they certainly speak of something more than a *Man*, or a *Creature*. His *Œconomy* necessarily supposes, and even determines his Divinity. For the Holy Scriptures preach to us, and we profess

to

to believe them, such a Christ, as is the Saviour of our Souls, as is to us Wisdom, Justice, Sanctification and Redemption, *i. e.* as makes us Wise, Just, Holy and at last perfectly Blessed; as immediately hears the Prayers of those who every where call upon his Holy Name, and therefore is every where, knows all things, even the Heart; as is always with his Church dispersed over the World, and so protects and defends it with his Almighty Power, as that neither the Powers of the Earth, nor the Gates of Hell shall prevail against it; as is of equal Majesty with God the Father, and to be adored with Divine Worship, not only by us humble Mortals, but by Angels, Arch-Angels, and all the Super-celestial World; as, lastly, shall come in the end of the World, shining in the brightest Glory, and guarded with Ministering Angels, to judge the World, to bring into open light, not only the Deeds of all Men, but the Secrets of their Hearts, to banish his Enemies into Hell, and to bestow upon his Servants not Riches, or Honours, or Earthly Pleasures, but Heavenly Glory, and eternal Life. Are these things compatible with mere Man, or any Creature? I must say, he that thinks so, sets himself not only against Faith, but Reason also.

This by way of Digression. To return; I suppose I have confuted the rash Assertion of *Episcopi*, by sufficient Testimonies of the Antients: I therefore proceed to the second Head. (a)

(a) See the remarkable Passage of St. Cyprian to the same purpose with the other Antients cited in this Chapter, *Def. N. C. Sect. 2. Ch. 10. §. 2.*



C H A P. II.

Of those who in the First Age of Christianity opposed the Doctrine of the Gospel, concerning Christ's being God and Man.

WE come now to Ecclesiastical History, which whosoever will consult, must wonder, I doubt not, with what face *Episcopus* could affirm, That in the Primitive Churches, from the Apostles times, for three entire Centuries, *the Faith and Profession of this special Manner of Jesus Christ's Filiation* (in which he is defined the Son of God, and God before all Ages) *was not judged necessary to Salvation.* For nothing can be more repugnant to all Church-History. In order to make this clear, I must repeat that Caution I gave in the Beginning of this Dissertation, namely, that the Primitive Church could not by any other better way declare her Judgment, concerning the Necessity of Believing any Article of our Religion, than by Excommunicating those who deny'd it. The Anathema of the Church, as *Tertullian* speaks, was formerly held by all Christians, *for the greatest Presumption of the future Judgment.* And thus the Persons Excommunicate, those whom the Church had thrown out of her Pale, till they repented, and desired the Peace of the Church, were esteemed out of the State of Salvation, according to that old Saying, *Out of the Church no Salvation.* This indeed *Episcopus* by stating this Question, [*Whether that fifth Manner of the Filiation of Jesus Christ be necessary to be known and believed to Salvation, and whether they who deny it, are liable to Excommunication*] plainly confesses; namely, that to excommunicate any Person for denying any Doctrine, is the same, as to judge and pronounce that Doctrine necessary to be known and believed to Salvation. If then the Primitive Churches

excommunicated those, who denied this fifth Manner of Christ's Filiation; then, according to *Episcopus* himself, they are to be thought the Asserters of that Manner, as necessary to Salvation. But it is very plain from Church-History, that for the three first Centuries, no one deny'd that Manner of Christ's Filiation, in which he was God, begotten of God before all Ages, who was not anathematiz'd, and excluded the Communion of the Church, as a Foreigner, an Alien from Christ's Body, unless he speedily retracted and condemn'd his Heresy. Therefore, &c. which was the Thing to be demonstrated.

2. *Cerinthus* and *Ebion*, who lived in the Days of the Apostles, were the First who disturb'd the Church with this Heresy. This only difference there was betwixt their respective Opinions, concerning the Lord Jesus, That *Cerinthus* separated Jesus from Christ, and made Jesus a mere Man, the Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, into whom Christ descended from above after his Baptism, and retired from him at his Passion, and return'd to his Pleroma, or Complement; but *Ebion* (for we shall shew this to be the Name of a Man hereafter, notwithstanding the contrary Sentiment of some learned Men) affirmed, that Jesus and Christ was the same, the Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and from the Beginning to the End of his Life only mere Man. This difference we learn from *Irenaeus*: (a) *One Cerinthus an Asiatick taught, that the World was not made by the Supreme God, but by a Power separate and very distant from that Principality which is over all, and ignorant of that God who is over all. He added, that Jesus was not born of a Virgin (for that seem'd impossible to him) but that he was the Son of Joseph and Mary, like other Men; and excelled all others in Justice, Prudence and Wisdom; that Christ after his Baptism descended into him in the shape of a Dove, from that Principality, which is over all; that he then preach'd the unknown Father, work'd Miracles, and*

(a) Lib. 1. Ch. 25. pag. 126.

at last flew back from Jesus; that Jesus suffer'd and rose again, but that Christ remain'd impassible, being Spiritual. Again he thus speaks of the Ebionites; (a) *Those that are called Ebionites are unanimous, that the World was made by God, and differ also from Cerinthus and Carpocrates concerning our Lord.* Here if we follow the received Reading, *Irenæus* plainly makes two differences between the Tenets of *Cerinthus* and *Ebion*, one concerning the Creation of the World, or God the Creator, and another concerning our Lord Jesus. *Cerinthus* would have it, that the World was not made by the Supreme God, but some inferior Power; but the *Ebionites* confessed, that the World was made by God, the Supreme Principle of all Things. Again, *Cerinthus* taught, that Christ (I know not who) descended from that Supreme Principality, which is above the Creator of the World, into Jesus for a Time, after his Baptism; but the *Ebionites* own no such Principality, nor any Christ who came into Jesus from that Principality. But if you'll alter the Reading, and with a very (b) learned Man put [*Consimiliter* instead of *Non-similiter*] then the Sense of *Irenæus* will be, that the *Ebionites* thus far agreed with *Cerinthus*, as to teach, that Jesus was a mere Man born of *Joseph* and *Mary* (as *Irenæus* also testifies in other Places cited by us) tho they rejected that other Fiction concerning a certain Christ. And indeed how could they receive that Fancy of a Christ descending into Jesus from the Principality, which is above the Creator of the World, who taught that the World was created by the supreme God? This *Tertullian* also expressly testifies in these Words: *Ebion succeeded Cerinthus, though not in all respects concurring with him, in that he says the World was made by God, not by Angels.* Thus *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* concerning the first *Ebionites*. Afterwards there arose two sorts of *Ebionites*, one who denied both the

(a) P. 127. Ch. 26. Lib. 1. (b) Bishop Pearson, Vind. Ignat. part 2. C. 2. p. 351. Ed. P. Ap. Vol. 2.

Divinity of our Lord, and his Nativity of the Virgin; another who, though they denied Christ to be God, confess'd, as the Catholicks do, that he was conceiv'd by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. Of these we shall speak hereafter.

3. Now, as for the common Tenet of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, namely, That our Saviour Jesus was a mere Man, not the true Son of God, born of God the Father before all Ages; how execrable it seem'd to the Apostolical and the next succeeding Church; how the Teachers of it were esteem'd Aliens from the Church of Christ, and consequently from Salvation by Christ, in the first Ages; I have clearly shew'd already, from the Writings of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus*. To them I must add what (a) *Jerome* gives us from the Monuments of the Antients, That the Apostle St. *John* wrote his Gospel upon the Request of the *Asian Bishops*, against *Cerinthus* and other Hereticks, and especially against the rising Doctrine of the *Ebionites*, who asserted, that Christ was not before *Mary*. As for *Cerinthus*, *Irenæus* agrees with *Jerome*, where he expressly (b) writes, that the Apostle St. *John* intended by his Gospel to root out the Error which *Cerinthus* had propagated. Hence we may gather, that the Bishops of *Asia*, namely, of those Parts where *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* first taught, as soon as they had found that those Hereticks had broke in upon, or rather crept into their Churches, immediately calling a Council, as it became good Shepherds, against the Devourers of Christ's Flock (as *Eusebius* (c) speaks concerning the Synod of *Antioch*, assembled against *Paul* of *Samosata*) met together, and mutually entring into Measures for the speedy Suppression of the growing Heresies, immediately implor'd the Aid and Assistance of the Apostle St. *John*, then alive, who, upon that occasion, as well as to supply the Defects of the for-

(a) Catalogus Scriptor. Eccles. in Joann. (b) Lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 257. (c) E. H. Lib. 7. cap. 27. p. 226.

mer Evangelists, wrote his Gospel ; in the beginning of which, by his Apostolical Authority, he check'd the Madnefs of *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, and other Hereticks, (as *Irenæus* says in the Place last cited) and made up the Canon of Truth, which afterwards prevail'd in the Church.

4. And indeed, whosoever, but indifferently skill'd in the Herefiology of the first Age, shall attentively read the beginning of St. *John's* Gospel, must immediately perceive that the Apostle particularly mark'd out all those Hereticks, and by his Apostolical Power confuted their impious Tenets. He asserts the Divine Nature of our Lord against *Cerinthus* and *Ebion*, v. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* The Word was in the Beginning, much more then, before *Joseph* and *Mary*; and it was God, therefore not only mere Man. The Evangelist has an Eye to the Doctrine of *Cerinthus*, and other Hereticks, concerning the Creation of the World, ver. 3. *All things were made by him, [the Word.]* Those Hereticks said, as we have before observ'd, that this World was made by inferior Powers, far remov'd from, altogether foreign to, and unassisted by the supreme God. On the other hand, the Evangelist teaches, that *all things were made by the Word, which was with God, and was God.* In the same Verse, he adds against the same Hereticks, *And without him was nothing made that was made.* Whosoever does not attend to the Apostle's Design, can see nothing in these Words but vain Tautology. Now those Hereticks, (as *Grotius* has well observ'd) would have it, that there was one Maker of this visible World, but that there were other Makers of the invisible things, and that each Pleroma, or Complement, had its own Maker. St. *John* therefore says, that every thing which was made, was made by the Word. The Evangelist plainly aims at these same Hereticks again, ver. 10, & 11. *He was in the World, and the World was made by him, and the World knew him not. He came to his own,*
and

and his own receiv'd him not. It was the known Opinion of *Cerintus* and all the other Hereticks, who distinguish'd betwixt the *supreme God*, and the Maker of this World, that our Saviour Christ came into this World from the supreme Principality, as into the Creation of another, with this Intent, that he might redeem Man from the Dominion and Slavery of the Maker of the World, into I know not what Liberty, or rather Licentiousness. In opposition to these Men, the Apostle teaches, that the Word or Son of God, our Saviour, came down from his Father into this World, as into his own House and Creation, with this Design, as it presently follows, *ver. 12, & 13.* That he might assert those who receiv'd him, into the true Liberty and Adoption of the Sons of God; tho' ungrateful Man, for the generality, did not acknowledge him as their Creator and Redeemer. I'm fully persuaded, this was the true and genuine Sense of the Apostle in those Words. Thus also (a) *Irenæus* understood them, where he makes this Note: *According to Marcion, and the Men of his Strain*, (namely, *Cerintus*, and the other Forerunners of *Marcion*, whom (b) *Tertullian* calls the early and abortive *Marcionites*) *the World was not made by him, nor did he come to his own, but another's.* Thus, he says, (c) that St. *John*, in the beginning of his Gospel, does manifestly shew to all that will hear, *i. e.* that have Ears, that there is one God the Father over all, and one Word of God, who is through all, by whom all things were made; that this World is properly his, and made by him at the Will of the Father, and not by Angels, nor by Apostacy, Defection, or Ignorance, &c. Further, the Apostle teaches against the *Simonians*, *Saturninians*, and the other *Docetæ*, that the Word or Son of God was really incarnate, and made Man; *v. 14. The Word was made*

(a) Lib. 3. chap. 11. p. 257. See also Novatian, chap. 14.

(b) Lib. 3. chap. 8. p. 401. (c) Lib. 5. chap. 18. p. 463.

Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, as of the only begotten of the Father, &c. Nay, in this one Sentence, he hath concluded all the Hereticks of his Age; for, as *Irenæus* has truly said in the Place often cited before, none of the Hereticks thought that the Word was made Flesh. All the Hereticks who had false Notions of the Person of Christ (as we have before observ'd) may be divided into two Classes: One, of the *Phamasiasts*, who plainly acknowledging the Divinity in our Saviour, denied his human Nature, supposing the Conjunction of the Human Nature absolutely unbecoming the Divine Majesty. Of these *Novatian* writes excellently. (a) *There are other Hereticks so rigid for the Divinity of Christ, as to say that he was not incarnate, as to take from him all that Humanity which he took upon himself, lest they should dilute the Power of the Divinity, by joining to it (as they suppos'd) the Human Nature. This we don't approve, but however argue from it, (b) That Christ was so far God, that some, taking away his Humanity, thought him to be Only God.* On the other hand, another Class of Hereticks only own'd the Human Nature in Christ, namely, the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*. It is but too plain on both sides, that it was denied that the Word was made Flesh, that is, that Christ was God and Man. Lastly, The Heresy in common to *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* concerning the Observation of the *Mosaical Law*, as necessary to Salvation, is (as *Grotius* has observ'd) transiently confuted by the Apostle, *ver. 17. The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth by Jesus Christ.*

5. Moreover, the holy Apostle plainly censures the same Hereticks in his first Epistle also, and calls them all by that one Name of Anti-Christ, as *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others of the Antients have observ'd. The beginning of the Epistle exactly tallies with the beginning of his Gospel; for in them both, the Divine lays

(a) Page 718.

(b) So *Tertullian* against *Marcion*, Lib. 3. cap. 8.

open and explains the great Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the Flesh; very pompously unfolding both the Divinity and Oeconomy of our Saviour. We have shewn it in the Gospel already; now the Epistle begins thus: *That which was from the Beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our Eyes, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life, (for the Life was made manifest, and we saw it, and testify of it, and tell unto you that eternal Life which was with the Father, and was made manifest to us) What we have seen and heard, that do we relate to you, &c.* Here St. John affirms against the *Docetæ*, who denied that our Saviour was real Man, that he and the rest of the Apostles heard the Word of Life, or the enlivening Word, and saw him with their Eyes, handled him with their Hands: here he calls in all the proper Senses to give Testimony of his Incarnation. Against those who affirm'd the Lord Jesus to be meer Man, the Apostle teaches that the Word was from the Beginning, namely, of the *Creation*, and therefore did not begin to exist when born of *Mary*. Against the same Persons he asserts in like manner, that the Life, the eternal Life, *the Word*, was first with the Father, *with God*; but afterwards, having taken upon him Flesh, was made manifest to Men. This is the plain, clear Sense of the Place; and thus, as (a) *Tertullian* tells us, it was receiv'd in the primitive Church: But that novel Interpretation of theirs, who expound the [Word of Life] by the Gospel, or Doctrine of Life immortal, is indeed very absurd. To say no more against it, what pretty Sense is this, that the Apostles not only heard the Gospel, but saw it with their very Eyes, and handled it with their Hands? The Great Man (b) *Dionysius Alexandrinus* hath formerly observ'd the Agreement of the beginning of St. John's Gospel with that of this first Epistle of his,

(a) Pag. 508 and 509.

(b) Euseb. E. H. p. 224, &c. Lib. 7. chap. 25.

in these Words: *The Gospel and the Epistle answer each other, and begin alike: The one says, In the Beginning was the Word; the other, That which was from the Beginning: The one, The Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, as of the Only-begotten of the Father: The other has the same thing, in somewhat other Words, What we have heard, what we have seen with our Eyes; what we have seen, and our Hands have handled, of the Word of Life; and the Life was made manifest. For he * premises these things, intending them, (as he shows afterwards) against those who denied that Christ was come in the Flesh. Upon this account he adds, And what we have seen, we testify, and preach unto you that eternal Life which was with the Father, and was made manifest to us. What we have seen and heard, we preach unto you. Here he insists, and recedes not from what he had propounded.*

6. In the second Chapter of the same Epistle, after the Apostle had told the Faithful that there were then many Anti-christs, and that they came forth from the Bosom of the Church, *ver. 18, and 19, (now he calls the Hereticks who spread false and impious Doctrines concerning the Person of Christ, Anti-Christ) he paints some of them in their proper Colours, ver. 22, and 23. Who is a Lyar, but he that denies that Jesus is the Christ? This is Anti-Christ, who denies the Father and the Son; Every one that denies the Son, hath not the Father. Among the Hereticks of the first Age, there were some, who falsely took upon them the Christian Name, (which may seem strange) and yet denied Jesus to be the Christ. Thus the Cerinthians, as we shew'd in the beginning of this Chapter, from Irenæus, separated Jesus from Christ, and taught that Jesus was one, and Christ another. Hence (a) Epiphanius, upon the Cerinthian Heresy, expressly testifies that they taught that Jesus was not the Christ. These Words*

* I could not think it necessary to preserve the musical Allusion in the Words Προανακρησεται & ἐπιμελῶς.

(a) Hæresis 28.

of St. John, *Who is a Liar, but he that denies that Jesus is the Christ?* were directed against these Hereticks; as also those other Words, *chap. 5. ver. 1. Every one that believes Jesus is the Christ, is born of God.* Thus that best Interpreter of St. John, *(b) Irenæus* teaches us; and indeed you can no where find any other, to whom they are more suitable. For it is very plain, from the Context, that the Apostle does not speak of the profess'd Enemies of our Religion, who denied Jesus to be the Christ foretold by the Prophets, and said we were to expect another; but of the false Prophets and Deceivers, under the Mask of Christianity. The following Words of the Apostle [*This is Anti-Christ, he that denies the Father and the Son. Every one, who denies the Son, hath not the Father*] manifestly strike at the common Heresy of *Cerintus* and *Ebion*. Both of them absolutely denied that Jesus was the true Son of God, born of God the Father before *Mary*, and even before the Creation; and therefore, by the Apostle's Judgment, did not really confess God the Father; because since the Gospel was revealed, no Man can believe in and worship God the Father as he ought, but he who also holds God the Son.

7. Again, in the fourth Chapter of this Epistle, *ver. 1:* the Apostle guards the Christians against the Hereticks of his time, in these Words: *Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits, whether they are of God; for many false Prophets are gone out into the World.* In the Verses following, *ver. 2, and 3,* he proposes two Marks, by which these false Prophets may be known, one of which plainly belongs to the *Docetæ*, the other to the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*: *By this know ye the Spirit of God, every Spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God; but every Spirit that confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is not of God: This is the Spirit of Anti-Christ, which ye have heard should come into the World, and which is now in the*

(a) Lib. 3. chap. 18. p. 278.

World. Upon which Place of the Apostle, we have a very credible Interpreter, namely *Polycarp*, the Disciple of *St. John*, who, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, cites the latter part of it, and expressly expounds it, not of the open Enemies of Christianity, who denied that *Jesus* was the true Messiah, because he was come in the *Flesh*, i. e. in an humble Condition, (as *Grotius* mistakes the Apostle;) but of the Hereticks, who profess'd Christianity. For after that the Apostolical Man had exhorted the *Philippians* to serve *Jesus Christ* with all Fear and Reverence, he adds immediately; (a) *Being Followers of that which is good, keeping off from Offences, and false Brethren, and hypocritical Professors of Christianity, who deceive vain Men; For every one, who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is Anti-Christ; and whosoever does not confess the Testimony or Martyrdom of the Cross, is of the Devil.* Therefore they were false Brethren, and Pretenders to the Name of Christ, who denied that *Jesus Christ* was come in the *Flesh*. This also is very plain from the Design of the Apostle, who gives the Marks and Tokens, by which the Faithful might distinguish false Prophets from orthodox Teachers. What need of Tokens to distinguish the open and profess'd Enemies of Christianity? But who those Hereticks were, who, professing Christianity, denied that *Jesus Christ* was come in the *Flesh*, we have several times told you; namely, *Menander*, *Saturninus*, and the other *Docetæ*, (whose Heresy *Marcion* revived, when *Polycarp* wrote these things) absolutely denied that our Lord was come into this World in human *Flesh*, or really suffer'd and was crucify'd; and even (as *Polycarp* speaks) in no wise confess'd the Martyrdom of the Cross.

8. This Heresy (b) *Ignatius*, the other Disciple and Acquaintance of *St. John*, every where confutes in his Epistles, especially in that to the *Smyrneans*, which

(a) Vol. 2. P. A. p. 186 and 187.

(b) Pag. 36. Vol. 2. P. Ap.

is almost wholly levell'd against this pernicious Doctrine. *What*, says he, *shall any one profit me, who praises me, and blasphemes my Lord, not confessing him incarnate. Whosoever does not assert this, perfectly denies him, and is in a State of Death.* Here every one may see that this of *Ignatius*, not to confess the Lord incarnate, is altogether the same with that of *St. John*, not to confess that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh. A little before, in the same Epistle, *Ignatius* (a) had thus explain'd the Heresy of the *Docetæ*, as opposite to the Catholick Doctrine: *But he truly suffer'd, and really rais'd himself, not as some Infidels say, only suffer'd in Appearance, themselves only being [Christians] in Appearance.* The Sense is, that they who teach that our Lord was only made Man, and only suffer'd in Appearance, are themselves only to be accounted Christians in Appearance. Afterwards he refutes those fantastical Hereticks, from the remarkable History of Jesus, shewing his Body, and suffering the Wounds upon it to be handled by his Disciples, after his Resurrection, and especially by *Thomas*. Upon this History, he makes this Remark: (b) *Straightly they touch'd him, and being convinc'd by his Flesh and Spirit, i. e. convinc'd by that Experiment, they believ'd our Lord to be true Man and true God.* For *Spirit*, as we have shewn before, in Christ, denotes among the Writers of the first Age the divine Nature of Christ, especially where it is opposed to Flesh. *Ignatius* here manifestly alludes to *Thomas's* Confession, who, upon seeing and handling the Wounds of Christ, broke out into these Words, *My Lord and my God!* A little after, (c) the holy Man calls them Brutes in the Shape of Men, meaning, that they who taught contrary to the plain Truth, that our Lord was only Man in Appearance, were not worthy to be thought reasonable Men, but Brutes in human Shape. Lastly, he observes (d) of them, that they wholly abstain'd from the Lord's

(a) Pag. 34. (b) P. 34, & 35. (c) P. 36. (d) P. 37.

Supper, as not confessing that the Eucharist was the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffer'd for our Sins; that is, they did not believe our Lord to have been true Man, and really to have suffer'd upon the Cross, (which *Polycarp* expresses, to confess the Martyrdom of the Cross) and therefore they would not celebrate the Memory of his Passion. These plain Testimonies of the two Disciples of St. *John*, don't suffer us to doubt, whether the False Prophets and Anti-Christ, said by the Apostle to have denied that Christ came in the Flesh, were any other than *Menander*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, and the other Phantasticals of the first Age. Moreover, after *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and almost all the Antients near the Apostolical Age, have observ'd, that the Apostle, in this place, intended to censure those Men.

9. To proceed with our Apostle, after some things in the same Chapter, he characterizes another Heresy concerning the Person of Christ, contrary to that of the *Doceta*, ver. 15. *Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.* The opposite Member, express'd in the former Observation, is understood here: But whosoever shall not confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth not in him, nor he in God. Now it is not to be doubted, but that the Apostle demands in these Words the Confession of that Son of God, whom he had before preach'd in this Epistle in part, and whom he more fully declares in his Gospel, namely, of the Son of God, who is the Word of God the Father, *who was in the Beginning, was with God, and was God, by whom all things were made, &c.* By these Characters, the Adversaries with whom we have now to do, deny not that the true and proper Son of God, born of God the Father, before all Ages, is denoted; nay, it is clear to all who will see, when they may. But *Cerintus* did not confess our Jesus to be such a Son of God, nor *Ebion* after him; both of them teaching, that

that Jesus was a mere Man, not existing before *Mary*; both of them therefore, in the Apostle's Judgment, were Aliens from God. Now because *Cerinthianism* was then the most growing Heresy, the Apostle every where urges, inculcates, and commends that Faith, by which we believe Jesus to be the Son of God (a). These Tokens, given in the second and fourth Chapter of this Epistle, were sufficient for the Faithful of the Apostolical Age to discover all who were Heterodox concerning the Person of our Saviour. This is the Sum of them, That every Teacher, who confess'd that one Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, was really made Man for Man's Salvation, was of God, (namely, with respect to that Doctrine, as *Eftius* well observes) but on the other hand, that whoever does not confess this, is to be deemed a False Prophet, and an Anti-Christ. But the Apostle chiefly insists upon these Tokens to mark out Hereticks, who denied our Saviour to be true God, or true Man. Thus *Tertullian* (b): [*John*] does especially call those Anti-Christis in his Epistle, who denied that Christ was come in the Flesh, and who did not think that Jesus was the Son of God: *Marcion* was of that Opinion; (and before him, *Menander*, *Saturninus*, and others;) *Ebion* was of that Opinion also. I have been the longer upon this, because it may hence appear not only from the Monuments of the most antient Fathers, but from the Apostolical Writings, that there were some in the Age of the Apostles, who denied the Divinity of our Lord, and who were upon that account esteem'd by the Apostles Hereticks, and even Anti-Christis, (far from Brethren, and true Members of the Church.) Further, it is hence very plain, that as the Doctrine of our Lord's Incarnation, his being truly God, and truly Man, was variously oppos'd by various Hereticks; so it was the most studiously guarded and pre-

(a) Cap. 3. ver. 23, 5. ver. 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20. (b) P. 214. serv'd

serv'd by all true Pastors of the Church, as the Ground and Perfection of the Christian Faith.

10. I should here have concluded what I design'd concerning the Hereticks of the first Age, who denied our Lord's Divinity, namely, the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*, but that I can't pass over the strange Comment of an (a) *impious Author*, upon the *Ebionites*: for if what he strenuously contends to prove, be true, there is no occasion to assert the Necessity, or even defend the Truth of our Lord's Divinity; and the *Ebionites*, at least those of latter Date, were so far from being Hereticks, that we must esteem them the only faithful Keepers of the Apostolical Doctrine and Tradition concerning Christ. He boldly affirms, that the *Ebionites* (who confess'd Christ born of the Virgin, but denied him to be God) were no other than the *Nazarenes*, or the first and most ancient Christians of *Jerusalem*, who, after they had receiv'd the Faith of Christ, retain'd the Observation of the Law, and religiously preserv'd the Doctrine of our Saviour's mere Humanity, which, forsooth! they had been taught by the Apostles; their Church continuing to the Times of *Adrian*, by whom they were driven out of their own Country, call'd in Contempt *Ebionites*, and accounted Hereticks by the rest of the Christians. The vain Man pleases himself mightily with this Device, and greatly glories in it, as a Tradition far more antient and certain than all the Traditions of the Catholics concerning the Son's Divinity.

11. From what we have said before, it is plain this is an abominable impudent Fiction. For to say nothing of the Scripture cited by us, what Apostolical Writer ever heard of it? Which of them has not given in his Testimony to the contrary? And how easily is this boasted Tradition to be refuted from Ecclesiastical History? *Eusebius* (b) expressly witnesseth, that he had learn'd from the Antients, that all the fifteen

(a) Zuicker, in his *Irenicum Irenicorum*, chap. 5. p. 95.

(b) Lib. 4.

Bishops who presided over the Church of Jerusalem till the Times of *Adrian*, held the Knowledge of Christ pure and sincere: *I could no where find how long those Bishops sat in particular, who presided over Jerusalem. It is said they all sat but a short Time. But this I have learn'd from the Antient Monuments, that till the Time of the Siege under Adrian, there were fifteen in a continued Succession, all of them originally Hebrews, and who had received the genuine Knowledge of Christ. Now Eusebius would never have said this of them, if he had been informed by the Antients, that they were Ebionites; a sort of Men, which he charges with Impiety, for denying Christ to be God the Word before Ages, and pronounces to be brought under the Power of the Devil. For thus he writes concerning both sorts of the Ebionites: (a) But others, whom the malignant Spirit could not absolutely move from the Christian Religion, finding their weak-side, he hath brought under his own Power. These the Antients called Ebionites, because they thought meanly and lowly of Christ. They said he was a mere common Man, and nothing else, was justified by a Proficiency in Virtue, and begotten of Mary, as other Men are. Moreover, they held the Observation of the Law to be absolutely necessary, as tho Salvation was not to be obtained by the Faith of Christ only, and a Life led according to it. There was another sort under the same Name, who rejected the absurd Notion of their Predecessors, and did not deny that Christ was begotten of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit; but these also were engaged in the Impiety of those before them, not confessing his Pre-existence as God the Word and Wisdom, and also especially being equally zealous Followers of the Corporeal Worship of the Law. Surely from these two Places of (b) Eusebius collated, it is very clear that the later Ebionites (whom Nicephorus calls the Lefs) were in two respects different from the first Christians of Jerusalem. (1.) They had impious Notions of Christ, not confessing him to be God, the Word and Wisdom, and to have subsisted*

(a) Lib. 3. chap. 27. p. 79. (b) Eccl. Hist. Lib. 13. chap. 13.
before

before the Nativity of his Flesh; but the first Christians of *Jerusalem* embrac'd the genuine Knowledge of Christ. (2.) They insisted upon the *Mosaical* Rites, as absolutely necessary to be observed, and denied that the Faith of Christ was sufficient without them. This *Eusebius* expressly observes of the former *Ebionites*, and also affirms of the later, that they as well as the other were Admirers of the *Mosaical* Law; and even in this plainly signifies, that some part of their Impiety consisted. The Sense of *Eusebius* is plainly this, that those *Ebionites* had added to their former deadly Error, in which they denied Christ to be God, that other pernicious one, of the Necessity of *Moses's* Law, and therefore were upon two accounts impious, and out of the Means of Salvation. But though the Christians of *Jerusalem* observed Circumcision, and other *Mosaical* Rites, (according to that Concession the Apostles made to their Infirmary) *Eusebius* never charges them with Impiety for it; because they both had a right Notion of Christ, and did not require the *Mosaical* Observations at the hands of the *Gentile* Christians. Indeed, if they had done this, they had plainly opposed the Decree of the Council of *Jerusalem*, in which *James*, the first Bishop of that See, presided. There is no doubt but that *Eusebius* thought those Christians of *Jerusalem* culpable, those especially who lived after the Destruction of the Temple by *Titus*, in that they did not at length perceive that the Ritual Worship, prescrib'd by *Moses*, was entirely abolish'd: But he therefore praises them, because they did not obtrude those legal Rites they observ'd, upon other Christians; and that in all other respects, especially with regard to that part of it which concerns the Person of our Lord Christ, they sincerely held the Catholick Faith.

12. *Sulpicius Severus*, a very grave Historian, confirms and illustrates this Testimony of *Eusebius* concerning the primitive Church of *Jerusalem*, and her Bishops, in these Words: *Because the Christians were*
thought

thought for the most part Jews (for then the Church of Jerusalem had no Bishop, but who was of the Circumcision) Adrian order'd a Band of Soldiers to keep perpetual Watch, and hinder all the Jews from coming to Jerusalem. This indeed was of good use to Christianity, because then almost all believ'd Christ to be God, and observ'd the Law. For it was order'd by Christ, that the Servitude of the Law should be taken away by the Liberty of Faith and the Church. Here the Words [almost all] are used, because there were then at Jerusalem (a) Gentiles, who embrac'd the Faith, although fewer than the Jews, who believ'd Christ to be God, without observing the Law. Now, what Eusebius reports from the Antients of the Christians at Jerusalem, who were of the Circumcision, namely, that they had receiv'd the genuine Faith and Knowledge of Christ; the same, but a little more clearly, Sulpicius affirms here, when he testifies that they believ'd Christ to be God. Nothing can be more clear. Wherefore, if they who were called Nazarenes, were the Posterity and Offspring of the Christians of Jerusalem, who were of the Circumcision, (as most learned Men think;) and if they did really (as the Author of the *Irenicum* says) take Christ to be a mere Man, we must conclude, that they had gone off from the Faith of their Ancestors.

13. But we have very good Authority for saying, that the Nazarenes also had more sublime Notions of Christ. Philastrius does not charge them with any Heresy concerning the Person of Christ; and Austin, in his Book of Heresies, (b) after he had spoke of the Cerinthians, who taught that Men should be circumcised, and that such other Precepts ought to be observ'd, that Jesus was only a Man, &c. thus explains the Tenets of the Nazarenes and Ebionites (c): The Nazarenes, though they confess Christ to be the Son of God, (and in that respect dissent from the Cerinthians, who held that he was only Man) yet observe all the old

(a) Christians in the Emperor's Notion.

(b) Cap. 8. (c) 9 & 10.

Law (in this agreeing with the *Cerinthians*) which the *Christians* had learnt not to observe carnally from *Apostolical Tradition*, but to understand spiritually. The *Ebionites* (just as the *Cerinthians*) also said that *Christ* was only *Man*; they observe the carnal Precepts of the Law, &c. Here it is manifest (notwithstanding this Author's Cavils) that *Austin* intended in this to distinguish the *Nazarenes* from the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*; that the *Nazarenes* did not confess him to be *Man* only, as the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*, but the *Son of God*, and so *God*. Besides, it is well known what *Austin* meant by confessing *Christ* to be the *Son of God*; for he own'd no other *Son of God* than that, which was begotten of *God the Father*, before all Ages. Moreover, there is also a very plain Testimony of *Jerome's*, where he thus writes concerning *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, and the *Nazarenes* (a): *If this be true, we are fallen into the Heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who believing in Christ, were for this alone anathematiz'd by the Fathers; That they mix'd the legal Ceremonies with the Christian Gospel, and so held the new, as not to let go the old. But why do I speak of the Ebionites, who only pretend themselves Christians? Even to this Day, in all the Synagogues of the East, there is an Heresy call'd the Minæi, commonly the Nazarenes, who believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and say it is he who suffer'd under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, in whom we believe. But whilst they would both be Jews and Christians, they are neither.* In which Words, *Jerome* agrees with *Austin*, and expressly says, that they believ'd in that *Son of God*, in which we believe: so that he owns no difference between the *Nazarenes* and the *Catholicks* in this Doctrine of the *Son of God*. That this was *Jerome's* Meaning, will yet be more plain, from his Design in the Place cited. There was a Controversy between *Jerome* and *Austin*, upon the Words of *St. Paul* κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντίστην, Whether he did in

(a) Ep. 89. ad Augustin.

earnest blame *Peter*, or whether the whole was fictitious, and transacted between them in a holy Dissimulation. *Austin* held the former, and that rightly: *Jerome*, from the Consent of some *Greek* Interpreters, defended the latter, contrary to the plain Truth, rendering these Words, κατὰ πρόσωπον, not to his Face, but in Appearance. The chief Argument by which he defended his Opinion, (into which he ingenuously confesses that he fell by chance, whilst in reading the *Greek* Commentaries, and treasuring up several things in his Mind, he call'd for his Notary, and dictated to him sometimes his own Thoughts, sometimes another's, without Regard to Order, Words, or Sense) was thus: That *Paul* himself sometimes judaiz'd, therefore could not justly charge *Peter* with what he himself was guilty of. To this *Austin* very well answer'd, That *Paul* did not blame *Peter* for observing the *Jewish* Customs, in which he was born and educated, though he did not observe them among the *Gentiles*; but for imposing them upon the *Gentiles* by his own Example, which *Paul* never did. For the legal Ceremonies might be indulg'd to the *Jews* for a Time, though they ought not to be imposed upon the *Gentiles*. *Jerome*, not willing to take this Answer, inveighs against *Austin* in his oratorical manner, as though the Sum of his Opinion had been, that even since the Gospel of Christ, the believing *Jews* might do well to keep the Precepts of the Law, i. e. offer Sacrifice, &c. Against this Opinion, which indeed is not *Austin's*, he thus argues, fighting with his own Shadow: *If this be true, we are fallen into the Heresy of Ebion and Cerinthus, who believing in Christ, were for this only anathematiz'd by the Fathers, that they mix'd the legal Ceremonies with the Christian Gospel.* In these Words, *Jerome* did not mean that *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* held no other Heresy, for which they were anathematiz'd by the Fathers, (for he could not but know, that *Ebion* was condemn'd by the Antients for denying Christ's Divinity, and that *Cerinthus* was expell'd for the same, and some other heretical

heretical Tenets;) but that if they had been in all other respects Orthodox, this Error alone would have been sufficient Ground for an Anathema. Now being sensible that he might be call'd to account for this, by the Adversary he had rais'd to himself, he recedes from the Example of *Ebion* and *Cerintus*, and puts the whole of his Cause upon another Example from the *Nazarenes*, which could not bear a Cavil. But why, says he, do I speak of the *Ebionites*, who pretend themselves Christians? Even to this Day, through all the Synagogues of the East, &c. As if he should say, As to the *Ebionites*, perhaps you'll object, and I don't deny it, that they had impious Notions concerning our Lord Christ, as though he was only a Man, therefore though they feign'd themselves such, they were not to be accounted true Christians; but with respect to the *Nazarenes*, no such thing can be pretended, they were in all things Catholick, except the Observation of the *Mosaical* Law; and yet for that, deem'd Hereticks by the Church. It is very plain, that this is *Jerome's* Meaning. Now no body could know the Opinion of the *Nazarenes* better than *Jerome*, who had us'd their Conversation, and had been favour'd by them with an Opportunity of copying the *Hebrew* Gospel of *St. Matthew*, as he himself tells us. (a)

14. To the Testimonies brought already, I will add two others, in which, though the *Nazarenes* are not particularly mention'd, they and their Opinion seem to me to be manifestly declar'd: The former shall be that of a Writer, without doubt, much antienter than any yet cited, *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew; where *Trypho* proposes some Questions concerning the Observation of the *Mosaical* Law to *Justin's* Solution. The first, concerning those who liv'd under the Law before the Coming of Christ, is this: *Shall they who liv'd according to the Law of Moses, live with Enoch, Noah, and Job, in the Resur-*

(a) De Scriptor. Eccl. in Matth,

rection? To which Justin answers (a): *In the Law of Moses, those Things which are naturally excellent, pious and just, are enacted to be perform'd by the Obedient; and also those things are found in it, which were commanded for the hardness of the Peoples Hearts, which they also observ'd, who were under the Law. Wherefore, they who did such things, as were universally, naturally, and perpetually good, pleased God, and by this Christ shall be sav'd in the Resurrection, as well as those their just and pious Ancestors Enoch, Noah, Job, or any others; together with those who acknowledge this Christ the Son of God, who was before Lucifer and the Moon; and who being incarnate by a Virgin of the Stock of David, condescended to be born, that by this Dispensation the Serpent, malignant from the Beginning, and the Angels, like him, might be subdued, Death vanquish'd, and might wholly cease from them at the second Coming of Christ, who believe in him, and live as he would have them, and then might be no more; when some shall be sent into the Condemnation and Punishment of eternal Fire; and others live together in a Freedom from suffering, in Incorruptibility, in Indolence and Immortality. Of which Answer this is the plain Meaning: That those, who living under the Law of Moses, both observ'd the Rites impos'd upon them by God, and especially faithfully obey'd the eternal Laws of Justice; as also the pious Men who were before the Law, should obtain eternal Life through the Grace of Christ, together with us Christians, although they had not that explicit Faith concerning Christ, which is now requir'd of us. And that the explicit Faith requisite to our Salvation, under the Gospel, is, to acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, who was before Ages; and in the Fulness of Time being incarnate, was made Man of a Virgin, in order by that Dispensation, to subdue the Devil and Death; who shall come again in the End of the World to judge all Men, to punish the Wicked with eternal Fire, and exalt the Pious to*

(a) Pag. 263, & 264.

the Kingdom of eternal Glory and Bliss. Here, by the way, let the Reader observe the Rule of Faith concerning Christ, given by *Justin*, as necessary to Salvation, and lay it up in his Memory, to serve him upon occasion. After this, *Trypho* asks whether he who embrac'd this Faith concerning Christ, and retain'd with it the Observation of the *Mosaical Law*, could be sav'd? But if, says he, *some Persons will still live in the Observation of the Mosaical Law, and yet believe in this crucify'd Jesus, owning him to be the very Christ of God, (namely, what you, Justin, have just now described him) and that the Judgment of all things is committed to him, and that his Kingdom is eternal (as you have also asserted) can these also be sav'd?* To this Question before *Justin* answers, he, in his turn, asks *Trypho* some things concerning those Rites which can, or cannot be observ'd since the Destruction of the Temple. After *Trypho* has dispatch'd these, he repeats his Question, and again asks whether he who holds the Faith in Christ, above describ'd, and yet will observe those legal Rites, which can be observed now, may be sav'd? To which *Justin* at length answers, in these Words: *It is my Opinion, Trypho, that such an one shall be sav'd, unless he universally and strenuously contends to persuade others, I mean those of the Gentiles, who have been circumcis'd from Error by Christ, to observe the same things he does, and affirms they can't be sav'd except they do so.* From these Words [*It is my Opinion*] *Trypho* takes occasion to ask another Question: *Are there any then, who say such Men shall not be sav'd?* As if he should have said, It seems strange to me, that any Christian should deny them Salvation who believe as they do in all other respects, for this Reason only, That they are tenacious of a Law made by God. But *Justin* answers: *There are such, Trypho, and those who carry the Matter so far, as that they dare not converse or eat with them; but I am not of their mind: They thought that after so long and so clear a Promulgation of Christ's Gospel, Moses's Law was not only*

only dead, but killing. Nor does *Justin* deny it at all, but grants that some of these *Judaizing* Christians may be saved, namely they only who through Infirmary (as he says afterwards) adhered to the *Mosaical* Rites. Hence then it is clear, that there were *Jews* in *Justin's* time, who mix'd the Catholick Faith of Christ, namely, that he was the Son of God, who existed before all Creatures, and at a certain time was incarnate for the Salvation of Men, and was made Man of a Virgin, with the Observation of the Ritual Law of *Moses*; but yet would not impose the necessity of observing this Law upon the *Gentile* Christians. Who were these, I beseech you? No other certainly than the *Nazarenes*, or Christians of *Jerusalem*, who now in the Days of *Justin* had been driven out of their own Country by *Adrian* (a). These things *Justin* wrote concerning the *Nazarenes*; for some time after in the same Dialogue, he transiently lashes the Tenet of the *Ebionites*, as we shall shew hereafter, when we come to *Episcopus's* Arguments.

15. Another Testimony I shall fetch from the sixth Book of the *Apostolical Institutions*, where the Author, reckoning up the Hereticks who disturb'd the Apostolical Church, in particular touches upon the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*, where he takes notice of those who taught, that it was necessary to be circumcis'd according to the Law, and to believe in Jesus Christ, as an holy Man and a Prophet. Afterwards he explains the Apostolical Doctrine against all the Hereticks, whose mad Tenets he had before mention'd. But in the end of the Chapter, he expounds the Catholick Faith in these Words, directly against *Cerintus* and *Ebion* (b): *We confess Christ, not a mere Man, but God the Word and Man, the Mediator of God and Men, the High Priest of the Father; neither are we circumcis'd, as the Jews are.* In the Chapter immediately following, (c) he has to do with others, who thought the Rituals of *Moses* were

(a) Vol. I. P. A. p. 339.

(b) P. 340.

(c) P. 341.

to be observed by them. The Title of the Chapter is, *Against them who confess [Christ] and yet will Judaize, i. e.* Against those who in all other things held the Catholick Faith explain'd in the Chapter before, and especially that part of it which is in the last Chapter, namely, that Christ is God and Man, but yet so far consented to the *Jews*, and departed from the Christians, as still to adhere to the ritual Law of *Moses*. Now who can doubt but that these, who confess'd, and would notwithstanding Judaize, were the very *Nazarenes*. After this manner we before heard *Jerome* testifying concerning the *Nazarenes*, that they confess'd the same Son of God in whom we believe, but, whereas they would be both *Jews* and Christians, they were really neither: and indeed you will never find any but the *Nazarenes*, to whom *Pseudo-Clement's* Description agrees.

16. The Testimony of one Man, (a) *Theodoret*, a Writer of the later Age, affirming, that the *Nazarenes* only honour'd Christ as a just Man, is of little weight against these so many, and so considerable Testimonies of the Antients. As for (b) *Epiphanius*, tho he joins the *Nazarenes* to the *Cerinthians* as Men of the same Sentiments, yet in the same *Heresy* he ingenuously confesses, that he had not found what opinion the *Nazarenes* had of Christ, namely, whether they held the *Cerinthian* Impiety, or the Catholick Notion. For thus he writes concerning them: *Concerning Christ, I cannot say whether hurry'd on by the Impiety of the Cerinthians, or Merinthians, they think him to be a mere Man; or, as the truth is, affirm that he was begotten of Mary by the Holy Spirit.* 'Tis clear then that *Epiphanius* did not know their Tenets. What he had inconsiderately said before, that the Opinions of the *Cerinthians* and *Nazarenes* were alike, *Theodoret*, who writes after him, seems to have taken up, and from thence to have deliver'd, that the *Nazarenes* as well as the *Cerinthians*

(a) Hæretic. Fab. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

(b) Hæres. 29. Cap. 1.
honour'd

honour'd Christ only as a just Man. *Epiphanius* indeed writes, that the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites* laid their heads together, and communicated to each other their wicked Heresy. Nor is it unlikely indeed that the latter *Nazarenes*, a long time rejected and despis'd by the generality of Christians, contracted a familiarity with the *Ebionites* upon account of their common Sentiment concerning the Observation of the *Mosaical* Rites, and from thence that some of them were at length polluted by their Heresy. Perhaps also the *Ebionites*, call'd the Later, or the Less, who are not mention'd by any one before *Origen*, might be of the number of these degenerated *Nazarenes*. But however, the plain Testimonies just now alledg'd by us from the Antients put it out of all doubt, that there were *Nazarenes* long after the Siege of *Jerusalem* in *Adrian's* time, and at least down to the times of *Jerome* and *Austin*, who kept the Faith of the first *Nazarenes*, the primitive Christian Church of the Circumcision at *Jerusalem*, entire; namely, who believed Christ to be God, tho they observ'd the Law.

17. From all these it appears sufficiently, how the Author of the *Irenicum* does in vain fatigue himself in colouring the execrable Heresy of the *Ebionites*, and in challenging it as the very Tenet deliver'd by the Apostles themselves to the first Christians at *Jerusalem*, namely, to the *Nazarenes*. It is not necessary then to contend much with this Sophist about the Name *EBION*, and the Original of it. But yet, since I find some learned Catholicks are of his Opinion in this Point, so as to deny that there ever was an Heresiarch, whose Name was *Ebion*; and that the Name of *Ebionites* was antiently given to those Jewish Christians, by way of Reproach, who had a low and mean Opinion of our Lord; I shall therefore say something briefly concerning this Matter. One of the most antient Heresiologers we now have, *Tertullian* I mean, expressly says in a place afore-cited, that there was once a Fellow of that Name, who thus far went along with Ce-

rinthus, as to teach that our Lord was only Man. *Philastrius*, *Jerome* and *Epiphanius* agree with *Tertullian*; so also *Ruffinus* and others (a). Nor does it signify any thing against this, that the Word *Ebion* (as many have observed) in the *Hebrew* denotes [poor]. For from this you can conclude no more, than that the Notion of *Ebion* concerning Christ, corresponded to his Name. Thus in the *Sacred Scriptures*, *As his Name is, so is he*; *his Name is Nabal, and Folly is with him*. The like Allusions to the Names of *Heresiarchs* frequently occur in *Ecclesiastical History*. So *Eusebius* (b) concerning the *Manichees*: *Then also Manes, or the mad Man, of a Name worthy his devilish Heresy, attempted the subversion of * Reason; the Devil himself, that Opposer of God, Satan having produced him for the Destruction of many*. In like manner, *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks of (c) *Arius*: *Arius, firnam'd so from Fury, disturb'd and corrupted a great part of the Church*. Upon which place *Nicetas* makes this Note; *Arius from * Agns, Mars, a very turbulent and furious Demon*. Hence his Followers are by *Athanasius* and others call'd *Ariomanita*. More of this kind might be produc'd, if it were worth the while. *Epiphanius* (d) plainly expounds and confirms our Opinion, where he thus discourses concerning *Ebion's Name*: *Ebion, translated from Hebrew into Greek, is Πτωχός, (or Poor in English.) And well might he be call'd poor in Understanding, in Hope, and in Deed, who thought Christ a mere Man, one who had hope in him upon a poor ground of Faith*. A little after he adds; *He was truly and naturally call'd Ebion, who by Prophecy, I suppose, had the very Name of it, poor and miserable Wretch, from his Parents*.

18. Therefore they only were antiently call'd *Ebionites*, who were the Disciples of the *Heresiarch Ebion*, and embrac'd both his Tenets, that the *Mosaical Law*

(a) Hieron. adv. Luciferian. cap. 8. Epiphani. Hæres. 30. Ruffin. in Symbol. prope finem. (b) Lib. 7. cap. 31. p. 231.

* Λόγιον, Of the Doctrine concerning the Λόγος.

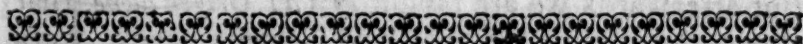
(c) De Ario. Orat. 20.

(d) Hæres. 30. cap. 17.

must be observ'd, and that Christ was a mere Man : But afterwards we are taught by (a) *Origen alone*, that about the middle of the third Century, those were called *Ebionites* by some, who held Christianity together with the Observation of the Law : Some of the Jews, who believe on Jesus, don't forsake the Law of their Fathers. They live according to it, and have gotten themselves a Name suitable to the Meanness and Poverty of their Law. For a poor Man is call'd *Ebion* by the Jews, and they of the Jews who receive Jesus as the Christ, are called *Ebionites*. No body that I know of, except *Origen*, has said this. But still this may justly be observ'd from this Passage, that those who were then in that larger Sense call'd *Ebionites*, were not so call'd, because they, like the first *Ebionites*, those properly so nam'd, thought lowly and meanly concerning Christ, (for we have prov'd that all the Jews who believ'd in Christ, and observ'd the Law, were not of that Opinion) but because of the Poverty of the Law to which they adhered, or because (as *St. Paul* speaks) they yet valued, and had in religious Esteem, those weak and beggarly Elements. Now in another Place, (b) *Origen* speaks concerning the *Ebionites*, in a stricter Sense so call'd, those who own'd not the Divinity of Christ, as of Persons, who were indigent, or wanting as to the Faith of Christ. Thus much we have at large discoursed (for so the nature of the thing required) concerning the Hereticks, who deny'd the Divinity of our Lord in the first Century. What relates to the Hereticks of the two following Ages, who defended the same impious Tenet, we shall, by God's Permission, dispatch with more brevity.

(a) Lib. 2. p. 56.

(b) Comment. Ed. Huet. p. 427, 428.



CHAP. III.

Of those who deny'd Jesus Christ to be True God, in the second and third Ages.

ABOUT the Year 190, when Severus was Emperor, Theodotus of Byzantium, from his Trade call'd Coriarius, dar'd openly to affirm and defend the pernicious Tenet of the Ebionites. Caius the Presbyter, or some other antient Writer, calls him (a), the Prince and Father of the Atheistical Apostasy, who first said that Christ was mere Man. I suppose he intended that he was the first among those who were purely Christians, Christians of the Gentiles; for as much as the more early Asserters of this Blasphemy, generally defended Judaism under the Profession of Christianity, and were rather to be accounted Members of the Synagogue than the Church, Jews than Christians, or something betwixt both. Hence the Ebionites were by some of the Antients thrown into the List of Jewish Heresies, and distinguished, as we shall shew hereafter, from the Hereticks which arose in the Christian Church. Tertullian (b) says of this Theodotus, and his Heresy; *Besides these was one Theodotus of Byzantium, who being apprehended as a Christian, denied [his Profession] and ever after blasphemed Christ. For he introduced the Doctrine of his being purely Man, and denied his Divinity; of his being indeed born of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, but being only and barely Man, in nothing superior to other Men, but only in Justice.* Epiphanius (c), Austin, and almost all the Heresiologers, give the same Account of him. Now

(a) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 159.

(b) Pag. 223.

(c) Hæref. 54. De Hæref. Cap. 33.

this impious Opiniator was anathematiz'd by Victor Bishop of Rome, as (d) Caius testifies.

2. I can't think it too much here to recite a remarkable Story, which the same Caius tells us in the same place, and which is very apposite to our present purpose. I will put many of our Brethren in mind of a notable Action in our days; what, if it had happened in Sodom, would, I think, have brought the Inhabitants of it to repentance. There was one Natalis a Confessor, who liv'd in the present Age, and not long ago. This Man, as it happen'd, was seduced by Asclepiodotus and another Theodotus, a Silver-Smith, both of them Disciples of that Theodotus the Currier, who was first excommunicated by Victor then Bishop (as I said before) for this Opinion, or rather Madness. These Persons persuaded Natalis to accept a Salary, and be made Bishop of the Heresy, or Sect. The Sum they were to pay him, was one hundred and fifty Denarii a Month. Being now made one of them, he was often rebuk'd by the Lord in Dreams. For our most merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ would not that he should perish out of the Church, who had been a Confessor of his Sufferings in it. But when Natalis little regarded these Night-Visions, being captivated by the Honour of Precedency among them, and the Desire of filthy Lucre (which has destroy'd many) he was at length beaten with Whips, and much wounded by Saints all the whole Night; so that he arose as soon as it was Light, put on Sackcloth and Ashes, and immediately threw himself with Tears at the Feet of Zephyrinus the Bishop, prostrated himself not only to the Clergy, but the Laity; affected and mov'd the merciful Church of the merciful Saviour with his weeping. Having used much intreaty, and shew'd them the Stripes of those Wounds he had received when a Confessor, he was at last with difficulty admitted to Communion. So hard was it for a Man, who had otherwise deserved very well of Christianity, to recover the Peace of the Church, after he had fall'n into that impious Heresy. As for the repeated Visions, in which Christ is

(d) In the place just now cited from Eusebius.

said

said to have shew'd himself an Assertor of his own Majesty, and to have chastis'd the Madnes of the laps'd Confessor, no Man will easily reject them, who observes that they are told by the very Confessor himself, when a serious Penitent for his very foul Lapse, before many Witnesses, to the most of whom then living, the grave Author of this Story appeals; and who recollects that there are many Examples of such Visions, even in the most authentick Writings of the third Century. See the very learned Dodwell's Cyprianic Dissertations (e).

3. Not far from the beginning of the third Century, there was one *Artemon*, or *Artemas*, an Enforcer of the *Theodotian* Heresy. Against him and his Disciples, *Caius*, or the antient Writer, above-cited, wrote a learned Piece. In that the Author, as *Eusebius* (f) says, writes exactly thus of the *Artemonites*: *They affirm that all the Antients, and even the Apostles themselves, receiv'd and taught what they now assert; that the true Doctrine was preserv'd till the times of Victor the thirteenth Bishop of Rome from Peter, but was adulterated in the time of his Successor Zephyrinus. Now what they say might seem true, may be, unless the Holy Scriptures were against it in the first place, and then the Books of certain Brethren more antient than Victor, which they wrote in defence of the Truth, against the Gentiles, and the Hereticks of their own Age. Such are Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and many others, in all whose Writings the Divinity of Christ is maintain'd. As for the Books of Irenæus, Melito, &c. in which they have preached Christ, as God and Man, they are too well known to be mentioned. The (g) Psalms also and Songs of the Brethren wrote from the beginning by the Faithful, do all celebrate Christ as the Word of God, and ascribe to him Divinity. Since then the Doctrine of the Church has been preached so many Years ago, how is it that all Persons*

(e) Dissertation IV. upon Ep. 8. (f) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 158, 159. (g) See Pliny Ep. 97. Lib. 10. And the Observations upon this place of Caius, in the Defence of the N. C. Sect. 3. cap. 2. sect. 5.

have only promulg'd their Doctrine till Victor's Days? Where is their Modesty to dress up such a Calumny against Victor, when they know that Theodotus Coriarius, the Author and Parent of that impious Defection, and who first asserted that Christ was mere Man, was excommunicated for it by Victor? For if, as they say, Victor approved their Blasphemy, why did he remove the Author of it, Theodotus, from the Church? I have the more willingly transcribed this entire and remarkable Fragment of the learned Author, that all Persons may see the prodigious Impudence of the *Irenicum*, which calls the *Artemonites*, the most creditable Evidences of Apostolick Tradition. For surely it is from hence clear, that they stood convicted of the most flagrant Untruth in this Pretence. Nay, I dare affirm that this one Fragment of our venerable Author rightly consider'd, is a sufficient Confutation of all the fictitious Stuff pack'd up together by that Scribler. But what is most to our purpose, it is also very clear that the *Artemonites* were thrown out of the Catholick Church, from the Words of the *Antiochian Fathers* concerning *Paulus Samosatenus* then Anathematiz'd: Thus they (a) speak in their Synodical Epistle, *Let him write to Artemas, and let the Artemonites communicate with him.*

4. In the same (b) Age not long after, *Beryllus* the Bishop of *Bosra* overturning the Rule of the Church, attempted to bring in certain Doctrines different from the Truth, presuming to say, that our Lord and Saviour did not properly exist before he came among Men, nor had a proper Divinity, but only the Administration of the Father's committed to him. From these Words of *Eusebius*, one may conjecture that he [*Beryllus*] alluded to the Heresy of *Noetus*, afterwards *Sabellianism*. But *Jerome* has said no such thing of him. I'll cite his Words presently. Now a great many Bishops met in Council against him, with an intent, no doubt, to excommu-

(a) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 230.

(b) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 6. cap. 33. p. 188.

nicate him; but *Origen* being there, and convincing him of his Error, he submitted to the Truth, and return'd to the *Antient sound Sentiment*. Thus also (a) *Jerome* speaks of him: *Beryllus the Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, after he had governed the Church gloriously for some time, at last falling into that Heresy, which denies that Christ was before his Incarnation, being set right by Origen, wrote several little Pieces, and especially Epistles, in which he thanks Origen, &c.*

5. About the (b) Year 260, the famous *Paul*, call'd *Samosatenus* from his own Country, and from his See *Antiocheus*, reviv'd the Heresy of the *Artemonites*. He had a low and mean Opinion of *Christ*, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, as tho he was only a common Man by Nature. Thus (c) *Athanasius* writes of him: *Paul of Samosata confesses God of the Virgin, God born in Nazareth, thence taking the beginning of his Existence, and of his Kingdom; he also confesses the Word and Wisdom from Heaven active in him, which by Predestination was before Ages, but was only in Act exhibited from Nazareth. Here by the Word, which is in Christ, Paul understood not the Person of the Word, or Son of God; for he own'd no such Word: but a certain Divine Power, by which he was conceiv'd in the Womb of the Virgin, and which ever after operated in him. Thus only did he think that Christ was conceiv'd by the Holy Spirit, (for he did not own any such thing as a Divine Person under that Name) and for this reason did he believe that he was call'd God in Scripture. Austin (d) says of the same Paul and his Followers: The Paulians, from Paulus Samosat. say, That Christ was not always, that he took his Beginning from his Birth of the Virgin, and they think him nothing but a Man. This was formerly the Heresy of one Artemon, but retriev'd in its decay by Paulus. But let us hear the Fathers of the Antiochian Synod, who certainly best understood Paul's*

(a) De Script. Eccl. cap. 71. (b) Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 27. p. 226. (c) Tom. 1. Pars 2. p. 942. (d) De Hæres. c. 44.

Opinion. They in their (a) *Synodical* Epistle testify, that this *Paul* deny'd his God and Lord, i. e. deny'd the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Christ. A little after in the same Epistle they say, that he would not with them confess that the Son of God came down from Heaven; but said that he was from below. Lastly, in the same place they expressly call him a Person who has abjur'd the Mystery, and gone in to the execrable Heresy of *Artemas*. *Paul* then and *Artemas* agreed in their Notion of Christ.

6. Some of the Antients say, that *Paul* made his Court to *Zenobia*, a *Jewess* (as (b) *Athanasius* says) but however much addicted to *Judaism*, and then Queen of the East, by the defence of this *Jewish* Blasphemy. So (c) *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret*. After some such sort the modern Defenders of *Arian* and *Samosatenian* Principles with us, contend that the Doctrine of Christ the coessential Son of the Father, and consequently that of the Holy consubstantial Trinity, should be wholly suppress'd in the Church, that it may not give any further hindrance to the Conversion of the *Turks* and *Jews* (d). They would have us, forsooth, not to be Christians indeed, that we may make a sort of Christians of those Infidels.

7. There were two Synods of Bishops assembled against this impious Man, at *Antioch*. In the former of them indeed, under the (e) Emperor *Gallienus*, about the twelfth Year of his Reign, and the 265th Year of Christ, the *Sophist* deceiv'd the Bishops by Pretences, and escap'd with impunity: But in the latter, a very numerous Synod, under *Aurelian* about the Year 270, *Malchion*, a Presbyter, and a very learned Person, detected his Heresy plainly; and then he was not only degraded from the Episcopal Dignity, but also entirely forbidden all Communion with the Catholick Church. Eu-

(a) Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 30, p. 228. (b) Tom. 1. Pars 1. p. 386. (c) Homil. 8. in Joannem. Hæretic. Fab. Lib. 2. cap. 8. (d) See the Answer to the Queries, p. 14. (e) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 7. cap. 27, & 28. p. 226, & 227.

sebius (a) thus briefly gives us the History of that Synod: *In the Times of this Emperor [Aurelian] a Synod of very many Bishops was assembled; in which this Heresiarch Paul, was convicted at Antioch, and being by all found guilty of that false Tenet, was excommunicated the whole Catholick Church under Heaven. One Malchion, a very eloquent Man, did chiefly confute and discover his study'd Subterfuges.* It is worthy Observation, how vehemently and how sharply the holy Fathers inveigh against the Heresiarch, and his Heresy, in their Synodical Epistle: (b) *They call him a Man, who denied his God, who receded from the Rule of Faith, i. e. was an Apostate, who set himself in opposition to God. They call his Opinion a deadly Doctrine, such a degree of Malice as denied God, an execrable Heresy.* Hence it is manifest, that the Great and Holy Synod, and consequently the Catholick Church of that Age, thought the Doctrine of our Lord's real Divinity absolutely necessary to be known and believ'd in order to Salvation.

8. I remember not any other Person in the Ecclesiastical History of the third Century, who, after this *Paul*, oppos'd the Divinity of our Saviour, except one *Lucian*, who was also excommunicated for it. (c)

9. Some of our modern *Arians* may here object, that all the Hereticks afore-mention'd denied that Christ was before *Mary*, which the *Arians* acknowledge, yea, they confess that he was before all Ages; therefore all that is urged, how much soever it may concern the *Socinians*, does not all affect the *Arians*: but this is nothing to the purpose. For it is plain that the Hereticks afore-mention'd, were condemn'd by the Church, for a Reason common to them with the *Arians* themselves, namely, for denying that our Saviour was God. Look back upon what has been observ'd in this Chapter concerning *Theodotus*, *Artemon*, and *Paul of Samosata*, from the Antients, and

(a) Chap. 29. p. 227. (b) E. H. Euseb. Lib. 7. chap. 30.

(c) See the Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. chap. 13. sect. 8.

you'll see that the Fathers place every one of their Heresies in this; not that they made our Saviour a Being lower in the Creation than he really was, but that they made him a mere Creature, and did not own him as truly God. In a word, they were convicted of and condemn'd for a Heresy, that denied God, as *Caius* says of *Theodotus* and *Artemon*, and the *Antiochian* Fathers of *Paul of Samosata*. Now certainly the Heresy of *Arius* was no less an Heresy that denied God than theirs: nor was the Difference betwixt their Opinion and that of *Arius* such, as that the Church could think the one tolerable, but the other worthy the severest Censure. For by both of them Christ was determin'd to be a mere Man, only they were not agreed upon the Time when he began to be so.

10. This notwithstanding we must add, which we have elsewhere observ'd, that the very principal Tenets of *Arius*, namely, of the Production of the Word before Ages, but yet from some Beginning, and of the Distance of his Essence from the Nature of the supreme God, were formerly condemn'd in the Church in the most antient Heresiarchs, i. e. the *Gnosticks* (a). Nor is the famous History of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to be forgot, who being falsely accus'd by the *Sabellians* to *Dionysius Romanus*, of those same Tenets, which *Arius* afterwards asserted; when *Dionysius Romanus* call'd a Synod upon that Occasion, in which the Tenets were universally condemn'd as impious, *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, who was said to defend them, had certainly been condemn'd, unless he had seasonably clear'd himself, by Letters, from that foul Calumny. (b) I suppose, then, it is very plain, from what has been largely discours'd in this Chapter, and that before it, that the Opinion which denies our Sa-

(a) Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. chap. 1. sect. 15. Sect 3. chap. 1. sect. 15, and 16. chap. 10. sect. 16.

(b) See this History at large in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. chap. 11. sect. 2. &c.

viour to be true God, was always held in the Church of the three first Ages for a deadly Heresy, and a detestable Blasphemy; and that those who asserted it, were absolutely rejected as impious Opiniators, and utter Strangers to the true saving Faith of Christ. Strange, then! that *Episcopus* should, with any Sophisms or Pretences (for he could bring nothing solid against such plain Testimonies) attempt to defend his contrary Assertion. Whatever it is he has said in this forlorn Cause, I shall now proceed to examine accurately.



C H A P. IV.

Of the Creeds of the Primitive Church: And first, of the first and most antient Creed, and the Explications of it in Irenæus and Tertullian.

FOR the Proof of his Proposition, namely, [That the Faith and Profession of that special Filiation of Jesus Christ, by which he is said to be the Son of God before Ages, and God of God, was not judged necessary to Salvation in the primitive Churches from the Time of the Apostles, at least during three whole Centuries] *Episcopus* (a) brings two Arguments; the first of which is this: (1.) *The Creeds of the Churches, by which antiently Christians were distinguish'd from Infidels, as by certain Badges and Tokens, and upon the Profession of which Men were matriculated into Christianity, prove it, says he. For in them no such Profession is required or made. The most antient of them, and that which prevail'd in the first Administration of Baptism,*

(a) *Episcopii* Vol. prim. p. 340.

even from the Times of the Apostles, was this: I believe in God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; according to the Form prescrib'd by our Saviour himself, Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. None of the antient Explanations of this Creed, which we have in Irenæus, Tertullian, &c. contain the Profession of this Filiation, much less declare the Necessity of professing it. And yet Irenæus speaks greatly of his Creed, as so perfect, that the best Skill in Divinity could make no Additions, nor the greatest Simplicity detract from it. Tertullian also says of his, That though a Man knew nothing besides it, he knew all things, &c. That the Creed call'd the Apostles, in what Time soever it was made (for that is uncertain) was by degrees augmented by the Addition of this or that Article, as several Heresies gave occasion, is what I never doubt: This, like the other, is so accurately compos'd, that some, the Romanists namely, have believ'd, though falsely, that it was made by all the Apostles, every one giving even the very Words of one Article, and some one of them by consent putting them together; but, however this be, all Christian Churches have receiv'd it as an undoubted, perfect, Catholick Rule of Faith, if not as it stood in the three first Ages, at least as it hath continu'd from the fourth Century to this day: This Creed, I say, makes no mention of this Filiation, but is content with that short Form, I believe in Jesus Christ his Only Son our Lord.

2. I answer, (1.) That such Arguments are of no force in this Matter; for when it is sufficiently prov'd from the Testimonies above-cited, and as clear as possible, that the Faith and Profession of this peculiar Filiation of Jesus Christ, was by the Primitive Churches judg'd necessary to Salvation, who will believe him that goes about to prove the contrary, because the Creeds us'd by those Churches does not plainly enough contain that Faith and Profession? We should rather conclude quite contrary, namely, that since it is very plain from other Arguments, that the Faith and Profession of that Filiation was judg'd ab-

olutely necessary to Salvation by the Primitive Churches, it must be, that this peculiar Filiation was either very plainly contain'd in the Creeds they used, or certainly by them thought to be so. Nay, it is certain indeed, that the Catholick Doctors, who liv'd long before the *Nicene* Creed, thought the Doctrine of our Lord's true Divinity to be really contain'd in the Rule of Faith, or Creed then receiv'd in the Church. For *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, as we shall shew hereafter, expressly affirm it to belong to the Rule of Faith. *Caius* also (a) says of the *Artemonites*, who denied Christ to be God, that they despis'd the Rule of antient Faith. So the *Antiochian* Fathers, (b) in their Synodical Epistle, say, that *Paul of Samosata* departed from the Faith, was an *Apostate*. Therefore *Episcopus's* Argument, if it proves any thing, proves this only, that the Primitive Churches have not clearly enough express'd that Article in their Creeds; which, notwithstanding, they thought necessary. But (2.) there is no Ground for this Impeachment; and, to make it plain that there is not, we will go through the Creeds which he mentions, all along treading in his Steps.

3. *The most antient of them*, says he, *and what was used in the first Administration of Baptism, even from the Times of the Apostles themselves, was this: I believe in God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.* I answer, (1.) That was never taken to be a full and compleat Creed, which did expressly comprehend all the necessary Articles of Faith, (a Man must scarce be in his Senses, to think the whole Christian Faith was comprehended in so small a Compass) but only a short and compendious Confession of the primary Article of the Holy Trinity, to be made by the Person to be baptiz'd, who was first taught the Sense of it by the Catechist more fully and exactly. (2.) But yet in this Creed (such as it is) the true Divinity of the Son (and even of the Holy Spi-

(a) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 5. chap. ult. p. 160.

(b) Lib. 7. chap. 30. p. 228.

rit) is as plainly deliver'd as possible in so few Words. For (1.) it is manifest, that in this Form, [*I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*] that the Word God is in common apply'd to all the Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. This the *Greeks* express more clearly [by their distinctive Article] Πιστεύω ἑνὶ Θεῷ, ἑνὶ πατρὶ, ἑνὶ υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἀμύν Πνεύμα. Thus also the Antients understood this short Confession. Hence (a) *Tertullian*, expounding the common Faith of the Christians, in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, says: *The Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and every one of them is God.* Cyprian also thus argues against the Baptism of Hereticks: (b) *If any one could be baptiz'd among the Hereticks, he might also retain Remission of Sins; and if he obtain'd Remission of Sins, be sanctify'd and made the Temple of God. I ask, of what God? If of the Creator, he could not, who did not believe in him; if of Christ, neither could he be his Temple, who denies Christ to be God: If of the Holy Spirit, since these Three are One, how could the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an Enemy to the Father and the Son? Where he plainly alludes to the Form of Confession, concerning the Holy Trinity, which was usually requir'd of those who were to be baptiz'd, in which they profess'd to believe the Father was God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and that these Three are One. By the way, the attentive Reader may observe, that in this place St. Cyprian manifestly teaches, that the Article of the true Divinity of our Lord is absolutely necessary to Salvation: For he expressly says, that he can't be the Temple of God (which is the same as to say, he can't be sav'd) who denies Christ to be God. But to return, I think that in these few Words, *I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, that great Truth, that the Son and Holy Ghost are one God with the Father, is, in some respects, more clearly ex-*

(a) Pag. 507. adv. Prax. (b) P. 203.

press'd, than in the larger Creeds that followed : For by the Additions after those Words, *I believe in God the Father*, and the Additions after the Mention of the Son, the Word *God* not being repeated in the Articles concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Title of God might seem, and indeed did seem (contrary to the plain Meaning of those that made them) to belong only to the Father. (2.) In this Form the Son (as also the Holy Spirit) is joined to the Father as Colleague in his Government, as Sharer of that Faith, Honour, Worship and Obedience, which the Person to be baptiz'd promises and vows ; which whosoever can think compatible with mere Man, or any Creature, has no Notion of the horrid Sin of Idolatry. To make this still the plainer, it is especially to be observ'd, that in the Primitive Church two Things were requir'd of those who were thought fit for Baptism, immediately before they receiv'd it ; the renouncing Satan, and listng under Christ. The Desertion, or Renunciation, was made in these Words, *I renounce the Devil and all his Works, and his Worship, &c.* After this, immediately follow'd the Listng with Christ ; *I believe in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost* (a). Both these Forms were receiv'd in the first Ages through all the Churches, so that it is not to be doubted but that they came from the Apostles. Now as by the one, they who came to Baptism, renounc'd the Worship of the Devil, and consequently of all Idols and false Gods ; so by the other, they gave themselves up to the Worship of the only true God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This is plainly gather'd from a Dialogue of *Lucian's* (b), or some Contemporary of his, of a like Genius. There the Author, coeval with the first Succession of the Apostles, a profane Man indeed, but one who well understood Christianity, in a scoffing Way introduces

(a) See the *Apost. Constit.* Lib. 7. chap. 41. p. 379. And *Cyril's Mystag. Catechism.*

(b) *Luciani Opera* : Printed at Hagenaw, 1535. Vol. 2. p. 932. one

one *Triephton*, who was to personate a Christian Doctor or Catechist, among other things, instructing his Catechumen in the Mystery of the Trinity: For when the Catechumen asks, *By whom then shall I swear?* *Triephton* answers, *By the God which reigns on high, the Great, the Immortal, the Heavenly, the Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One of Three, and Three of One: Suppose this to be Jove, think this your God.* Hence I say, we may gather, that the Profelytes from *Gentilism* to the Christian Church, were oblig'd, instead of their vain Deities they before worshipp'd, to give themselves up to the Worship and Obedience of the Trinity in Unity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as of their only God. See this Place more largely explain'd, and sufficiently defended from the Cavils of *Sandius*, in the Defence of the Nicene Faith (a). Thus much may suffice for the first and most antient Creed.

4. Let us now proceed to the Explications of this Creed in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*. None of them, says *Episcopus*, contain the Profession of this Filiation; i. e. There is not any thing in any of these Expositions, which declares our Saviour to be the Son of God, otherwise than is consistent with him, as only a mere Man, and not existing before *Mary*. But this is so false, that I wonder with what Judgment, Persuasion, or Conscience, the learned Man could so boldly affirm it. I'll begin with (b) *Irenæus*. He transiently mentions the Rule of Faith, which every Christian received in Baptism. He afterwards propounds and explains it variously, and in several places, but every where in the same Sense. In all these Expositions, he plainly enough declares the divine Filiation of our Saviour, but in some, nothing can be clearer. Thus he gives us the Rule of Faith. (c) *For the Church, though dispers'd through the whole World, to the Ends of the Earth, hath receiv'd from the Apostles, and their Disci-*

(a) Sect. 2. chap 4. sect. 11. (b) Lib. 1. chap. 1. read the whole Chapter. (c) Lib. 1. chap. 2. p. 50.

ples, this Faith in One God, the Father Almighty, who hath made the Heavens, the Earth, the Sea, and all things in them; and in One Jesus Christ, the Son of God, incarnate for our Salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who preach'd by the Prophets the Dispensations of God, and his Coming, and his Generation of the Virgin, and his Passion, and Resurrection from the Dead, and the Assumption of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ in the Flesh into Heaven, and his coming from Heaven in the Glory of the Father, to gather all things together, to raise all human Flesh, that so every Knee in Heaven, in Earth, and under the Earth, may bow, according to the Good-pleasure of the invisible Father, to Christ Jesus our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King; and every Tongue shall confess to him, and he shall execute just Judgment in all things, &c. In this Exposition of the antient Creed, the Catholick Church, every where dispers'd; is said to believe in Christ, as the Son of God, incarnate for our Salvation; which Words are almost the very same with those in the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, and those in the most antient larger *Oriental Creed*, as we shall shew hereafter. In these Words, all that will, may see it signify'd that our Saviour did exist, and was the Son of God, in a Nature without Flesh, before he was made Man; that he then took upon him Flesh, or human Nature, out of Love to Mankind, that he might procure for us eternal Salvation (a). Nor can any one doubt what kind of Incarnation *Irenæus* believ'd, who is not entirely a Stranger to his Works. I will illustrate this Matter by one Passage, of the many which occur; in which, after a Recapitulation of those things disputed before, he thus writes (b): *Having plainly shewn, that the Word, which was with God in the Beginning, by whom all things were made, and who was always present to Mankind, that he was in the last Times, according to the Predetermination of the Father, united to his own Creature, being made passible Man; there is no room for their Contra-*

(a) Clem. Rom. Ep. 2. (b) Lib. 3. chap. 20. p. 282.

diction, who say, If therefore Christ was then born, he was not before. For we have shew'd that the Son of God did not then begin to be, having always existed with the Father; but when he was incarnate, and made Man, he took upon himself the sad, forlorn Condition of Man, compendiously procuring Salvation for us; that so what we had lost in Adam, the Likeness and Similitude of God, we might recover in Christ Jesus. For since it was impossible that Man, who was once subdued, and thrown off by Disobedience, should be renew'd, and receive the Reward of Victory; and also impossible that he should obtain Salvation, who was fallen under Sin; the Son, who was the Word of God, descending from the Father, and perfecting the Dispensation of our Salvation, did both [for us.] From hence it is very plain, what Irenæus meant by believing in the Son of God, who was incarnate for our Salvation. Moreover, in the Exposition of Faith before us, our Saviour is not only call'd the Son of God, but expressly God; which Name, according to (a) Irenæus, ought not to be given to any one absolutely, nor is so given in Scripture, but to him who is really God.

5. Further, Irenæus, in another (b) place, gives us the Rule of Faith, and explains it. There not only the Pre-existence of the Son before Mary, but also before all Creatures, and the Creation of all things by him, as by a Word, not extrinsick to God his Father, as all Creatures are, even Angels, but most intimate and co-essential with him, is very clearly express'd. Read the place, and judge for your self: Since then we hold the Rule of Faith, namely, that there is one God Almighty, who made all things by his Word, who fill'd and fram'd them out of nothing into Being, as the Scripture saith, The Heavens were made by the Word of the Lord, and all the Hosts of them by the Breath of his Mouth. And again, All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made. All things excepts nothing; but the Father made all things by him, whether visible or invisible, sensible, or in-

(a) Lib. 3, chap 6, p. 246. (b) Lib. 1, chap. 19. p. 114.

telligible, temporary things for a certain End, or eternal; and since God made all these things, not by Angels, nor some Powers distinct in Sentiment from him, (for he wants nothing) but by his Word and Spirit makes, disposes, governs, and gives Existence to all, &c. Therefore holding this Rule, though they use many and various Arguments, we easily prove that they have gone off from the Truth. (a)

6. You may add to this a third Exposition of the antient Creed from the same *Irenaus*; where, intending to shew that the Tradition of Truth was not to be sought for in the Conventicles of Hereticks, but in the Catholick Church, he thus discourses (b): Suppose the Apostles had left us no Scriptures, must we not have followed the Order of Tradition, which they committed to those with whom they entrusted the Churches? To this, many Nations of the Barbarians, who believe in Christ, assent, having Salvation written in their Hearts by the Spirit, without Letters or Ink, and diligently preserving the old Tradition, believing in One God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things in them, by Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who, out of his exceeding Love towards his own Creature, suffer'd himself to be born of a Virgin, uniting in himself Man to God, suffer'd under Pontius Pilate, rose again, was received into Glory, and shall come again the Saviour of those that are sav'd, and the (c) Judge of those that are judg'd, sending into eternal Fire those who change the Truth, and despise his Coming and his Father's. They who without Letters have believ'd this Faith, are, with respect to our Language, Barbarians; but with respect to Sentiment, (d) Moral, and Conversation, very wise through Faith, and please God, living in all Justice, Chastity, and Wisdom. To these Persons, if any one report

(a) Consult the parallel Places of *Irenaus*, cited in the Defence of the *Nicene Creed*, Sect 2. chap. 5. sect. 7.

(b) Lib. 3. chap. 4. p. 242.

(c) The Condemner of those that are to be condemn'd. This Mistake in translating the Word *κρίνω*, &c. frequently occurs among the old Interpreters, even in Scripture.

(d) *Consuetudinem*, *ἠθός*.

the Inventions of Hereticks, speaking to them in their own Language, they quickly shut their Ears, and fly as far as possible from them, not induring to hear their blasphemous Discourse. In this Rule of Faith, Christ is said to be that Son of God, by whom the Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and all things in them were made; who, of his great Love to, and Compassion of the Work of his Hands, Mankind, himself condescended to be born Man of a Virgin, and thus join'd Man to God. *Irenæus* affirms (a) the Tradition of this Faith to be so universal and antient, that the very *Barbarians*, those who had yet no Versions of the Scripture, held it, as receiv'd at first from the Apostles, or their Disciples, together with the Gospel, of which it is indeed the greatest part; and esteem'd by all Catholick Christians at that time so sacred, that the *Barbarians* abhorr'd all Doctrine inconsistent with it, as impious Heresy and Blasphemy.

7. Let us now examine *Tertullian's* Explications. In his Book *de Velandis Virginibus* the Rule of Faith is rather hinted by the way, than recited, and therefore not full and perfect. For there Christ is not so much as call'd our Lord, or the only begotten Son of God, but simply the Son of God. This notwithstanding was enough for *Tertullian* to have said of Christ by the way, who with the other antient Catholicks, always understood the Title of Son of God to be given to the Son in a sublime Sense. In that Rule of Faith there is no mention of the Conception of the Man Christ by the Holy Spirit, nor of the Holy Spirit himself. It is indeed my Opinion, that *Tertullian* had there an especial regard to the Creed then used in the *African* Church, which was almost the same as the *Roman*: for the *Roman* Church agreed in her Creed with the *African* Churches, as (b) *Tertullian* says. Now the *Roman* Creed, tho larger than it is there given us by *Tertullian*, yet as in other respects, so in this Ar-

(a) Pag. 173.

(b) Præscript, adv. Heret. p. 215.

ticle of the Son of God, it was shorter than the Creeds of the *Eastern Churches*, for reasons I shall take notice of by and by : But still the Faith of the *Roman* and the *Eastern Churches* was always the same. They all confess'd the Article of the Son of God in the same extent of Meaning, tho in other Words. And this also *Tertullian* well knew.

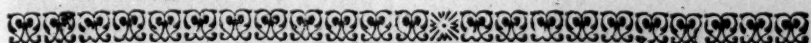
8. Hence in another place noted by (a) *Episcopus*, where he delivers the Rule of Faith, he gives us this Article of the Son of God more full and explicite, describing his Existence very clearly, as not only before the blessed Virgin, but also before all Ages, and even before the Creation of all Things by him. For there, after he has said, that that only ought to be controverted, which may be disputed without prejudice to the Rule of Faith, he immediately subjoins the Rule in these Words: *That is the Rule of Faith, by which we profess what we believe, namely that, in which we believe that there is only one God, and no other besides the Creator of the World, who made all Things of nothing by his Word first of all sent forth; that the Word, call'd his Son, appear'd variously to the Patriarchs in the Name of God, always spoke in the Prophets, lastly was brought down into the Virgin Mary by the Spirit and Power of God the Father, was made Flesh in her Womb, and born Man of her, and is Jesus Christ, &c.* Having ended the Creed, he adds, *This Rule instituted by Christ, as shall be prov'd, admits of no Questions, which are not heretical, and make the Persons concern'd in them Hereticks.* What can be more clear or express against *Episcopus's* Assertion than these Words? The same Rule of Faith you have in (b) another place thus : *We, says he, believe that there is only one God, but under this Dispensation, which we call Oeconomy, that the Son his Word, who proceeded from him, by whom he made all Things, and without whom nothing was made, is of that one God; That he was sent by the Father into the Virgin, and born of her, Man and God, the*

(a) Pag. 206.

(b) Pag. 501.

Son of Man and the Son of God, call'd Jesus Christ. Afterwards he adds: *That this Rule had come down from the beginning of the Gospel, even before any of the antient Hereticks, much more before the modern Praxeas; both the late Rise [Posteritas] of all the Hereticks in general, and the Novelty of Praxeas in particular, but of Yesterday, will prove.*

From what has been said, it is abundantly manifest that *Episcopus's* Appeal to the Explications of *Irenæus* and *Tertulian*, with respect to the antient Creed, was rash and impudent.



CHAP. V.

Of the Creed, call'd the Apostles.

I COME now to the Creed call'd the Apostles, concerning which *Episcopus* says, *The very Creed call'd the Apostles, makes no mention at all of this Filiation, but is content with this short Form; I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord.* This is *Episcopus's* chief Argument; and after him, the Author of the *Irenicum* and *Sandius* have greatly urg'd it. The same our late Revivers of the *Arian* and *Socinian* Heresy have every where boasted of in their insipid Libels, and think themselves safe from the Charge of Heresy justly laid against them by the Catholicks, whilst intrench'd in this Strong-Hold.

2. In order to give a full Answer to this Argument, in which they so greatly glory and confide, I propose to demonstrate these four Positions. (1.) That the Creed call'd the Apostles, how conformable soever to their Doctrine, was not dictated or compos'd by the Apostles themselves in so many Words, in that Form and Method in which we now have it; but indeed is nothing else than the Creed of the *Roman* Church, which after the Year 400 was at last compleated in that Church, the Churches of the *East* in the mean time using another Creed. (2.) That the Church of *Rome* formerly

formerly might, and accordingly did use a more succinct and short Creed, than was necessary for the Churches of the *East*, these being disturb'd with all kinds of Heresies; when in the *Roman* Church not one Heresy arose, which taught them to understand their shorter Confession otherwise than according to its right Meaning, and the true Sense of the Church.

(3.) That this, notwithstanding there really is in the *Roman* Creed a Profession of this special Filiation of Jesus Christ, namely, in these Words, *I believe in Jesus Christ his* (i. e. God the Father's) *Only-begotten Son*.

(4.) And lastly, That in the Creed, or Rule of Faith, which prevail'd in the most antient Churches of the *East*, before the Council of *Nice*, this special Mode of Jesus Christ's Filiation was expressly taught and declar'd.

3. That very great Man *J. G. Vossius*, hath abundantly proved the first Position, in his Dissertations concerning the three Creeds: To the first of these Dissertations, (not to do the same thing over again) I recommend my Reader.

The second Position is confirm'd by the Testimony of *Ruffinus*, who thus prefaces his Exposition of the Creed: *Before I begin to explain the Sense of the Words, I can't but think it seasonable to tell my Reader, that in divers Churches some Additions have been made in the Words. Now in the Church of Rome, this has not been done, which I suppose happen'd upon this account, because no Heresy hath taken its Rise from thence, and because they keep up an old Custom, That those who are to receive Baptism, shall publicly repeat the Creed in the Ears of the People, and they who were before them in the Faith did not bear the Addition of the least Word: But in other places, as far as I can find, some Words seem to have been added by reason of some Hereticks, by which the Sense of the novel Doctrine was thought to be excluded.* Thus he writes, and indeed it is plain, that the *Simonians*, *Cerinthians*, *Ebionites*, and the other Pests of the primitive Church, did not spread their impious Tenets at *Rome*, but in the *East*, and especially in *Asia*. Hence *Ignatius* frequently lashes

lashes those Hereticks in his Epistles to the *Asiatick* Churches ; but writing to the *Romans*, takes notice of no Heresy among them : Nay, he expressly commends them in his *Salutations*, for their entire Purity of Faith, whilst he calls them (a), *The United in every Command of Christ, fill'd with every Grace of God, without Distinction, and purify'd from every Spot, or strain'd from all Dregs.* It is, I suppose, upon this account more particularly that *Tertullian* calls the *Roman Church*, a Church in Prosperity. O that this Prosperity, this Purity of the Faith, had continu'd always in it ! but alas, now we may cry out in the Words of the Prophet, *How is the faithful City become an Harlot !*

4. I come now to the third Position, and intend to enlarge upon it. Now it is easy to prove that Christ, in the *Roman Creed*, is called the Only-begotten Son of God, with respect to that Divine Nature of his, in which he existed not only before *Mary*, but before all Ages, from God the Father, and with him. This Proof we will bring, (1.) From the Holy Scripture, in which the Word *Only-begotten* is attributed to Christ, (for we can't suspect that the Church understood the Word otherwise than the Scripture, from which they borrow'd it.) (2.) From the Force and Propriety of the Word. (3.) From the Order and Context of the Creed : and, (4.) From the constant Sense, and perpetual Interpretation of the Catholick Church.

(1.) As for the Scripture, the first Place in which this Word is apply'd to Christ, is *John* i. 14. *And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, as of the Only-begotten of the Father.* Here it is plain, that the *Only-begotten of the Father* is he who alone was begotten of him. Some Persons would refer the Words [*of the Father*] to the Words [*the Glory*] so as to read, [*And we beheld his Glory* (given him, or receiv'd by him) *from, or of the Father.*] But besides the

(a) Tom. 2. P. A. p. 26. (b) Pag. 215.

Confusion in the Words thus construed, there are not indeed enough to express this Meaning; a Violence which should never be offer'd without Necessity. Again, the Expression [*the Only-begotten of, or from the Father*] seems to me more significantly to declare the Divine Generation of the Son from the Father, than [*the Only-begotten of the Father*] the Particle [*of, or from*] suggesting that he is so the Only Son of God the Father, as that he alone is indeed begotten of and from the very Father. Moreover, the (a) Apostle gives this Title to the Word, namely, *to him, who was in the Beginning with God, who was God, and by whom all things were made.* Hence it is plain, that Christ was call'd the Only-begotten of or from the Father, in respect of his Divine Nature, by which he existed before Ages. Lastly, The Observation of *Grotius* is not impertinent, that *St. John* aims at the Gnosticks here, who made the Word to be one, the Only-begotten another, and Jesus a third; and who reckon'd the Only-begotten among their *Æons*, born before this World. The Apostle therefore shews, that our Lord Christ is the only true Word, and the true Only-begotten Son of, or from the Father, as being alone begotten by him before Ages. To the same purpose is this Word understood in (b) other places, even in (c) *Episcopi*'s Judgment, who reasons thus upon those places: *It is certain that the Love of God towards us is greatly exalted [in those places] in that he sent his Only-begotten Son into the World, and gave him up to the Death of the Cross, to save Sinners, the Children of Wrath. But if the Son of God denotes no more than Jesus, born of the Virgin, we can't see so clearly why this Love should be so greatly extoll'd, as if it denotes the Son, whom he begat before Ages. For the Son, born of the Virgin, was therefore born of her, that he might die for Sinners. Now, where was the extraordinary Love of God, in giving up*

(a) *St. John's Gospel*, i. 1, 2. (b) *John* iii. 16. and the 4th, v. 9.
 (c) *Episcopii Tom.* i. p. 337.

that Son to Death, who was begot of the Virgin, by his Pleasure, and conceived of the Holy Spirit for that purpose? But if you conceive it to be the Son of God, who was begotten of the Father before Ages, who was under no necessity of being sent into the World, whose Dignity was greater than that he should be sent, or come in the Flesh, much less die, who seemed dearer to the Father, than that he would force him upon so much Calamity; then indeed the Splendor and Glory of the Divine Love towards Mankind shines forth greatly. Thus *Episcopus*. That he had wrote so always! Indeed it will be very clear to any one who seriously considers the Matter, that according to the *Arian* and *Socinian* Scheme, God rather shew'd his Love towards this Son of his, than towards us Men. For he who is called Christ, was chosen to this Grace and Favour by the Good-pleasure of God only, that after a short Obedience perform'd upon Earth, of a mere Man, according to the *Socinians*, of a mere mutable Creature, according to the *Arians*; he should become God, have Divine Honours paid him, not only by us Men, but by Angels and Arch-Angels, and even obtain Power and Dominion over all other Creatures. Further, the Love of the Only-begotten Son of God towards us Men (so greatly celebrated in Scripture, and especially in the (a) Epistle to the *Ephesians*) does not appear, unless we conceive him to be the Son of God, who was begotten of the Father before Ages, by whom all things were made, who for us Men and our Salvation, descended from Heaven, and was incarnate, &c. But upon this Supposition, as *Irenæus* speaks, we clearly see the most eminent Love of God towards his own Work. This by the bye. Now I can't see how we can reconcile *Episcopus* to himself. In the Places of Scripture, where Christ is called the Only-begotten Son of God, he contends that the Only-begotten Son must signify that Son, whom the Father begat before Ages, and therefore that in that

(a) Chap. 3. ver. 18, & 19.

Title is contain'd this special Mode of Christ's Filia-
tion: But in the (a) Creed, extracted from the Scrip-
tures, in which we profess our Faith in Christ, the
Only-begotten Son of God, he absolutely denies that
this special Mode of Filiation is contain'd.

5. (2.) It may be prov'd from the Force and Pro-
priety of the Word, that Christ is call'd the Only-
begotten in the Creed, with respect to his Di-
vine Nature. For he is called Only-begotten, who
alone, and not in a Community of Sonship, is Son;
i. e. whom the Father hath alone, who, in the way in
which he is Son, hath no Brother: Moreover, who is
Son by Nature, begotten of or from the Father, not
a made or adopted Son. Now Christ can't be called
the Only-begotten Son of God, unless with respect
to his Divine Generation: For the Title does not be-
long to him as Man. To make this the more clear,
we will consider the four Ways, in which Christ, as
Man, is in Scriptures (according to (b) *Episcopius*)
by way of Eminence, call'd God.

The 1st is, because, as Man, he was conceived of
the *Holy Ghost*. *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and
the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore
that Holy One which shall be born of thee, shall be called
the Son of God.* *Answ.* At present, I shall say nothing
of (c) *Justin Martyr's* and *Tertullian's* Interpretation of
the Place, who expound [*the Holy Spirit*] and [*the
Power of the Highest*] of the Word himself; nor yet of
Novatian's Criticism, who places an Emphasis upon
the Particle [*And.*] This is my Answer, Tho' Christ
be there called the Son of God, upon account of his
Conception by the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the
Virgin, as Man; yet he is not there called the Only,
or the Only-begotten Son of God. But (says *Episco-*

(a) *He must defend the Creed, and depreciate the Scriptures; and
he may as well do it, as Dr. Whitby prefers the Authority of Clemens
Romanus before St. Paul.* p. 16. *Mod. Disquis.*

(b) *Episcop.* Tom. 1. p. 335.

(c) *Justin.* pag. 75. *Tert.* p. 515. *Novat.* chap. 29.

pius) this Eminence (whereby he was form'd in the Virgin's Womb, by the Power of God) is proper to the Man Jesus Christ, and there never was, nor ever will be the like. I say that is not true. For the Flesh of Christ was conceiv'd and form'd in the Virgin's Womb, by the Divine Power, without a Father. And was not the first Man form'd by the Hands of God himself, without either Father or Mother? And is he not therefore expressly call'd the (a) *Son of God*? The Eminence then of Jesus Christ, as Only-begotten Son, is not in this: For in this the first *Adam* may in some sort be said to be superior to the second, because made by God, without Father or Mother, whereas this had only no Father. (b) *Philo Judæus* elegantly describes the illustrious Generation of our first Parent, in these Words: *Who, for the Nobility of his Generation, was not to be compar'd with any Mortal, being form'd into a bodily Image, by the Hands of God, with the utmost plastick Art; and having a Soul given him, not from any created Being, God breathing into him as much of the Divine Power as mortal Nature was capable of. Was not that the Excellence of Nobility, with which that, of all the rest which were named, could not be compar'd? Their Glory was the Nobility of their Ancestors. Their Ancestors were Men, mortal, corruptible, and their Prosperity unstable; and, for the most part, of short Continuance: but no Mortal was his Father, nor any one the Cause of his Being but God.* Hence St. *Irenæus* says, the Man Christ, the second *Adam*, was made like the first in his Generation, not indeed altogether, but as much so as the Oeconomy of our Salvation would permit. For after he had (c) observ'd, that as the Man first form'd of the Virgin Earth (not yet manur'd or till'd, as *Tertullian* interprets) was made by the Hands of God himself; so Christ, the Renewer of the first *Adam*, was made, as to his Humanity, of the Virgin *Mary*, by the Holy Spirit: a little after he adds; *Now if he was taken*

(a) Luke 3. ver. 38. (b) Ed. Turneb. Paris, 1552. p. 621.

(c) Lib. 3. chap. 31. p. 298, & 299.

from the Earth, and God form'd him, it became him who was to gather together into himself Man, made by God, to have a Similitude of Generation with him. Why then did not God take the Dust of the Earth again, but caused him to be made of Mary? That there should not be another Formation, another Being to be saved, but that he the same [Man] should be renew'd in his own Similitude (a). The very great Excellence then of our Saviour's Filiation, by which he is called the Only-begotten, or the Only Son of God, lies not in this, that he was produced of the Virgin Mary, by the Power of the Highest, without having a Man to his Father; for in this the first Man was equal, in some sort superior to him: but in a far more sublime Generation, namely, that in which he was the Son of God, not only before Mary, but also before Adam, and indeed before all Ages. If you observe upon the Generation of them both, certainly the second no way excels the first, as mere Man, but in this greatest Difference imaginable, as God and Man. Whatsoever the Addition is, by which the human Nature of the second Adam exceeds the first, is all owing to that Union by which the Soul of Christ is, by the greatest and most intimate (b) Communion imaginable, (by such a Communion, as that another more close can't be) joined to the Divine Person of the Only-begotten Son of God. Thus (to observe this by the way) the divine (c) Apostle makes the Comparison between the first and second Adam: *The first Man is of the Earth earthy, the second Man is the Lord from Heaven*. Some there are indeed, but vain and absurd Men, who will have the Words [from Heaven] applied to the second Adam, as born of the Virgin Mary, by an absolutely divine and celestial Power, without a Father; for thus, as we have seen before, it may be said of the first Adam. What the Meaning is of those Words [from Heaven] in opposition to [of the Earth earthy] is very plain from the Saying of (d) John the Baptist,

(a) Pag. 321. (b) Origen. (c) 1 Cor. 15. ver. 47.

(d) St. John's Gospel, chap 3. ver. 31. Compare with this, c. 1. v. 30.

comparing himself, as a Son of *Adam*, with the Lord Christ: *He that comes from above, is above all; he that is of the Earth is earthy, and speaks earthy things; he that comes from Heaven, is above all.* Besides, I don't doubt but that [*the Man, the Lord from Heaven*] is the same which is called by the Cabalistic Jews [*that Adam from above which is bless'd*] by which Periphrasis they certainly meant the true God. For indeed what the Cabalists taught concerning the Marriage of that *Adam* from above, who is blessed, with the Congregation of *Israel*, mystically signify'd by the Conjunction of the earthy *Adam* and *Eve*, is manifestly refer'd by the (a) Apostle to the Union of Christ and the Church. Now those other Words of the (b) Apostle must be understood in the same Sense: *The first Man was made a living Soul, the last Man was made a quickning Spirit.* The first Man was made, *i. e.* according to a well-known Idiom of the Hebrew Language, was a living Soul; the last was a quickning Spirit. The Sense is, the first Man was only Man, the second more than Man, even a Spirit which gave Life, *i. e.* God. The Spirit in Christ, as we have often observ'd, doth frequently in Holy Scripture, and the Writers of the first Age, denote the divine Nature in him. Now it is the Property of the Divine Nature (as is here said) to give Life to Men, upon which account Christ is elsewhere said to be the (c) *Prince of Life*, and *Life itself*. He is the Author of all our Life, natural, spiritual, and moral, as (d) *Clemens Alexandrinus* has elegantly express'd it: *The Word, which in the Beginning, after the Formation, gave Life as the Creator, taught afterward to live well as an Instructor; that after that, as God, he might bestow eternal Life.* As this Interpretation rises necessarily from the Words of the Text, so it is very agreeable to the Context. For the Apostle had said, that there were two Bodies, one

(a) Eph. v. ver. 32. (b) 1 Cor. chap. 15. ver. 45.

(c) Acts iii. 15. John i. 4. (d) P. 4, &c. 5.

animal, another spiritual, which he here shews from their contrary Causes. For as we receiv'd these our animal and mortal Bodies from the first *Adam*, a mere Man, and consisting of a Body, in its own nature at least animal and mortal; so we shall hereafter receive spiritual Bodies from Christ, the second *Adam*, who is more than Man, in whom is the Divine Nature, and who is the Fountain of all Life. The Change of our vile Bodies into the Likeness of his glorious Body, to be perform'd by Christ in the Resurrection, is also (a) attributed to his Almighty Power; and this is not compatible with him but as God. The Interpretation which *Grotius* has lick'd up from the *Socinians*, that Christ was then only made an enlivening Spirit, after he was rais'd from the Dead, and had ascended into Heaven, is vain. For, (1.) It is very plain the Apostle speaks of the primigenial Nature of them both, and not of either of them, as to what they were afterwards made. He then who was not always an enlivening Spirit, never could be made so. The made God is one of those Monsters which the *Arians* and *Socinians* have bless'd us with, odious to sound Reason and true Religion. Lastly, It is certain Christ was an enlivening Spirit, even before his Resurrection; for as such, he recall'd his Body from (b) *Death to Life*. Hence *Ignatius*, a Disciple of the Apostles, says of Christ, *He truly suffer'd, as he also truly rais'd himself up*. The Resurrection of the Body of Christ from the Dead, is also in Scripture ascrib'd to God the Father: and what then? Whatsoever the Son doth, he doth it from the Father; and whatsoever the Father doth, he doth it by the Son. Hence also the Creation of all things is attributed to the Father and the Son, because the Father made all things by the Son. But, to return from this brief Digression, the supreme and especial Eminence of our Lord's Filiation is so far from consisting in his Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*, that on

(a) Phil. iii. 21. (b) John ii. ver. 19.

the contrary, that very Nativity is to be esteem'd a wonderful Condescension. This, if we will indeed follow the Holy Spirit, the sacred Writings plainly and frequently teach: nor does *Episcopus* deny it. Thus the Catholick Church, from the Times of the Apostles themselves, always believ'd. Hence *Justin*, afore-cited, says, *That this is the Faith of Christians concerning Christ, namely, they own Christ to be the Son of God, who was before Lucifer and the Moon, and who condescended to be made Flesh, and born of a Virgin, of the Seed of David.* We have before cited *Irenæus*, affirming, that all Christians every where profess'd in their Rule of Faith to believe in the Son of God, by whom the Father created all things; and who, of his very great Love to his own Creature, endur'd to be born of a Virgin, &c. Hence the six famous Bishops, in the (a) *Epistle from the Synod of Antioch*, which they wrote to *Paul of Samosata*, not without the Consent of the whole Synod, pronounce, with the greatest Assurance, that this was the consentient Doctrine and Faith of the Catholick Church. Their Words are these: *In the whole Church of God, he [Christ] is believ'd to be God, emptying himself of his Equality with God; and Man, of the Seed of David.* Lastly, Hence it is, that to this day, maugre the *Arians* and *Socinians*, the Church does, and always will sing, *Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ; thou art the everlasting Son of the Father; when thou tookest upon thee to deliver Man, thou didst not abhor the Virgin's Womb.* Thus much for the first Mode, in which *Episcopus* has observ'd that Christ, as Man, is in Scripture call'd the Son of God.

6. The second is, *That Jesus Christ, upon account of that Office of Mediator, by the special Command of the Father laid upon him, is call'd the Son of God (b).* I answer, (1.) That Christ can't, upon this account, be properly call'd a Son begotten of God, much less Only-begotten. He who is thus a Son, is a Son not

(a) *Bibl. Patr. Tom. 2. Vide Valesium ad chap. 30. Lib. 7. Euseb.* (b) *John x. ver. 35, 36.*

by Nature, but by Grace. (2.) That in this sense Christ had many Brethren, all who were anointed Kings or Prophets by God ; all who were sent upon any special Command to the People of God. In this kind of Filiation, Christ may be called the chief, principal, and far the most excellent Son of God, but not the Only-begotten. But, (3.) Whoever examines the Text cited, thoroughly, will find that Christ did not there call himself, or would only be believ'd to be the Son of God, because he came from God as an Ambassador sent to Men, and furnish'd with extraordinary Powers ; but upon a far more exalted Ground, namely, as he was with God the Father before he was sent into the World, as his true, genuine, co-essential Son, and indeed very God. Nor was *Episcopus* ignorant of this, for (a) elsewhere he has drawn an Argument from this place for the divine Filiation of Jesus, against the *Socinians*. But it may be worth our while to enlarge upon this place, and prove this matter more clearly than he has done. It is manifest, that our Saviour, in the Words (b) before, had so spoken to the *Jews*, that they neither understood nor believ'd that he said any thing else, but that he was God. These are their Words, *For a good Work we stone thee not, but for Blasphemy, because that thou being a Man, makest thy self God.* He had often called his Father God, by way of Distinction ; and a little before he had said, that he and the Father are one. Now it is diligently to be observ'd, that Christ made not that Answer which he must have made, if he had not known himself to be truly God, namely, that he was not really God, nor had ever arrogated that Title to himself ; (for by this Answer, could he have truly made it, he might easily have appeased the Anger of the *Jews*, and it was also incumbent upon him, with Indignation, to reject so plain an Accusation of Blas-

(a) Vol. 2. p. 2. Bodecherus ineptiens, p. 52. it is hinted.

(b) From ver. 25. to ver. 30.

Blasphemy) but on the contrary, clearly signify'd, that he was the very Son of God, and consequently God. For he defends himself against the Jews these two ways, (1.) By an Argument from their (a) Law: *Jesus answer'd them, is it not written in your Law, I have said, ye are Gods?* Which place, as Grotius has well observ'd, seems to be meant of the Judges of the Great Synedrium. From this place, Christ thus defends himself: *If he hath called those Gods, to whom the Word of God came, and the Scripture can't be broken; do ye say that I blaspheme, whom the Father hath sanctify'd, and sent into the World, because I said, I am the Son of God?* This kind of Argument, from the less to the greater, proceeds thus: If those, who having nothing divine in them, namely, the Judges of the Great Synedrium, to whom the Psalmist there speaks, (for I am of Capellus's mind) are called Gods for this reason only, that they have in them a certain imperfect Image of divine Power and Authority; how much more may I be called the Son of God, and even God, who am the natural Son of God, and besides in an extraordinary manner authoriz'd by God the Father? Christ indeed hath not expressly said this, but he hath plainly intimated it in these Words, [*that I, whom the Father hath sanctify'd and sent into the World.*] Here (observe) he says not [*whom God hath sanctify'd*] but [*whom the Father hath sanctify'd*] hinting that his special Reason for calling God his Father, was not that he was sanctify'd by God, *i. e.* set apart, and design'd for the Business laid upon him, and sent into the World; but on the other hand, that he was sanctify'd and sent into the World by God already his Father. Besides, I don't doubt but that there is a great deal of reason in the Emphasis (b) Maldonate lays upon the Words [*sent into the World,*] in which is signify'd that Christ is the Son of God, born not after the manner of others upon Earth, but in Heaven, and from thence

(a) Psalm, lxxxii. ver. 6. (b) In locum.

sent into this World. For thus the Lord, speaking to his Disciples, more clearly explains himself, (a) *I came forth from the Father, and came into the World, and again I leave the World, and go to the Father.* In which Words any Man, but a sagacious Socinian, may perceive that Christ intended, that he, in his better Nature, was in Heaven with God, and that as his Father, before he first came into this World, that is, was *made Man*. Our Lord proceeds with this Defence, and establishes the Divinity he had in common with the Father, by another Argument from his Miracles: (b) *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do them, though ye believe me not, believe the Works, that ye may know, and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.* As if he should have said, because I called myself by way of Distinction the Son of God the Father, and said that I and the Father were one, ye accuse me of Blasphemy. This indeed you might be thought to do very justly, if I asserted this Divinity in Words only, not in Deeds; but now that I do the same Works of Omnipotence with the Father, why do ye not believe me to be of the same Nature with him? I don't desire to bear Witness of myself, but at least by my Works to persuade you, that the Father is in me, and I in him; that is, that I and the Father are one, as I said before.

Hence it is clear that our Lord, when the *Jews* accused him of Blasphemy, for calling himself the Son of God, by way of Distinction, and thereby plainly intimating that he was God, in his Answer, was so far from denying the Crime objected, that he prov'd it by the strongest Arguments. This the *Jews* well understood, dull and stupid enough, yet able to condemn those wisest of Mortals, the *Socinians*, of the grossest Blindness: For they, instead of absolving him for this Answer, were ready to seize him immediately as

(a) John xvi. 28. compare John iii. 13.
& 38.

(b) John x. 37,

a Blasphemer. For it follows, (a) *Then sought they again to apprehend him, but he escaped out of their hands.* When the Evangelist says [*then,*] he intimates that the *Jews* again provok'd by those very Words which our Saviour had spoken in his Defence, would have apprehended him, that having drawn him out of the Temple, (b) where he had this Discourse with them, they might stone him. *Grotius's* Comment is quite wrong, where he will have it, that the *Jews*, after our Lord had clear'd himself beyond exception of the Blasphemy charg'd upon him, left off the Thoughts of stoning him as a Blasphemer, and endeavour'd to deliver him up to the Government, to find or make some other Accusation against him. For the *Jews* did not therefore intend to apprehend Christ, that they might bring him before the Sanhedrin, but that they might carry him off to some place, where they could murder him without Sacrilege. The Temple, within the Verge of which our Saviour stood and talk'd, was every way sacred, and not to be polluted by any (c) Slaughter, or Blood. Besides, the Word [*again*] plainly shews, that the *Jews* were for repeating the Attempt they had before made, to (d) stone him. In that place also the Word [*again*] occurs, and manifestly denotes another time also, when the *Jews*, upon a like Occasion, would have stoned (e) Christ. For there also the *Jews* rightly thought, from our Saviour's Discourse, when he said that he was (f) before *Abraham*, that he attributed to himself a certain Nature, in which he was before *Abraham*, that is, a Divine Nature, and therefore called himself God.

7. I proceed to the third manner, in which *Episcopus* says Christ, as Man, is in Scripture called God, namely, *Because he was raised from the Dead to Life immortal by the Father, and, as it were, begotten again of the*

(a) Ver. 39. (b) Ver. 23. (c) Compare Acts xxi. 30.

(d) Ver. 31. (e) John viii. ver. 59. (f) Ver. 58.

Womb of the Earth, (a) without any Mother. I answer, Christ could not this way be called the Only-begotten Son of God, for in this sense, all good Men, who rise again, are called Sons of God, because Sons of the (b) *Resurrection.* The Man Christ may, upon account of his Resurrection, be called the First-begotten from the Dead, and indeed he is expressly so called, (c) *because* he, the first of all the Dead, return'd from Death to Life, never to die any more. Besides, in the places where Christ in Scripture is call'd Only-begotten, God the Father is said to have sent his Only-begotten Son into the World, and to have (d) *given him to Men.* Therefore he was the Only-begotten Son of God when he first came into the World, not then only, after he was by Death taken out of it, then raised from the Dead, and about to ascend into Heaven. But the Apostle St. Paul, in the place cited by *Episcopi*, applies the Words of David, *Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee*, to the Resurrection of Christ from the Dead. Now it is to be observ'd against the modern *Artemonites*, that this is not so to be understood, as tho' he then only began to be the Son of God in the most excellent Sense, and to be begotten of him by and after the Resurrection; but that by the Resurrection, he was the most powerfully declar'd and exhibited as the True and Only-begotten Son of God. For this is the way of the Scripture, to say that things are then made, when they are manifested and discover themselves. Hence (e) *Justin Martyr*, (as we have elsewhere observ'd) upon citing this place, adds, *Then saying that he was born to Men, when he was going to be known of them.* Thus indeed St. Paul interprets himself concerning his Son, *made of the Seed of David, after the Flesh, and declared the Son of God with Power, (f) after the Holy Spirit, by the Resurrection from the*

(a) Acts xiii. ver. 32, & 33. (b) Luke xx. ver. 36.

(c) Col. i. ver. 18. (d) John iii. 16. 1 Ep. of St. John, iv. 9.

(e) Pag. 316. (f) Rom. i. ver. 3, 4.

Dead. Here *Chrysostom* interprets *δειδέντος*, which we translate *declar'd*, by *shewn*, *manifested*, *judg'd*, by the Opinion and Suffrage of all. To the same sense the *Greek Scholiasts*, the *Syriac* and *Æthiopic Versions*. The *Latin Interpreter* alone, contrary to the Faith of all the *Greek Copies*, renders [*who is predestinated the Son of God*] as though it had been written *προειδέντος*. But what a sort of a Son of God was Christ declar'd and proved to be by the Resurrection? No doubt, a Son of God co-essential to his Father, and therefore very God. For as in this place [*according to the Flesh*] denotes the human Nature of Christ, so [*according to the Spirit of Holiness*] denotes his divine Nature. Now as Christ, according to the Flesh, is said to be of the Seed of *David*, i. e. the Son of *David*; so he is called the Son of God, according to the Spirit of Holiness. We have observ'd so often before, that the Spirit in Christ, especially when oppos'd to the Flesh, denotes his divine Nature, that it is needless to repeat it. Nor ought it to seem strange that Christ, as the Son of God, and God, is here called the Spirit of Holiness, an Appellation generally given to the third Person of the Divinity; for the same divine, spiritual and holy Nature, is common to every Person of the Trinity. Hence we have observed, that *Hermas*, a Contemporary of *St. Paul*, has expressly called the divine Person of the Son of God an Holy Spirit; and that *Ignatius*, an Apostolical Man, and a studious Imitator of *St. Paul's* Style, has called him the *immaculate Spirit* (a). Besides, the same *Ignatius* seems to have had respect to this Text of *St. Paul's*, and to have given us a Paraphrase of it in that illustrious Place, more than once cited by me: *There is one Physician, carnal and spiritual, made and unmade, God made in the Flesh; (or as Gelasius, Athanasius, and Theodoret, God in Man) the true Life in Death, both of Mary, and of God.* Here, as in *St. Paul*, Christ is said to have

(a) Def. N. C. Sect. 1. chap. 2. sect. 5.

two Natures, a carnal and a spiritual: According to the carnal Nature, or, as *St. Paul* speaks, according to the Flesh, Christ is said to be begotten, or made, and mortal Man: According to the spiritual Nature, or, as *St. Paul*, according to the Spirit of Holiness, he is unbegotten, or unmade, the true Life, and consequently God; as carnal, of *Mary*, *i. e.* the Seed of *David*; as spiritual, of God, *i. e.* the Son of God (a).

8. We are now come to the fourth and last manner, in which *Episcopus* will have it, that the Man Christ is called the Son of God in Scripture; namely, *As Jesus Christ, being raised from the Dead, was made entire Heir of all things in his Father's House; and therefore Lord of all the Heavenly Possessions, and of his Father's Ministers, i. e. of all the Angels* (b). I answer, That Christ could not properly be called the Son of God upon this account only, much less then his Only-begotten Son. For an *Heir* is not necessarily the true natural Son of him, whose *Heir* he is, much less his Only-begotten Son; because a Relation, or a Stranger, may be made *Heir* (c). Further, our Lord, as I said a little before, was the Only-begotten Son of God when he was first sent into this World by his Father, therefore not then only made the Only-begotten Son of God, when taken up again into his Father's Heavenly Mansion, and made *Heir* and Lord of all.

Now as for the place refer'd to in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, Christ is not there called the Son of God, much less God, because made *Heir* of all; but on the

(a) Compare 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20.

(b) Heb. i. ver. 5.

(c) The Author of the *Queries*, though prolix upon this Head, has not thought fit to take any notice of Dr. Bull's Arguments. In this, and the three preceding Modes, in which our Lord is by *Episcopus* affirm'd to be the Only-begotten Son, that Gentleman has exactly follow'd him, without so much as a Stricture upon that sound Reasoning the Bishop has used in his Confutation. If his Book did not betray the contrary, a Man would scarce believe he had any Acquaintance with this excellent Piece. Compare the Answer to the *Queries*, p. 65, &c. with our Author.

other hand, he is said to be made Heir of all, because the Son first; the Son, I say, by whom God the Father made the Worlds, and who was before Ages. The Words are these: *God in these last Days hath spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath made Heir of all things, by whom also he made the World.* Here the Socinian Comment is monstrous, namely, that God is therefore said to have made the Worlds by his Son, because he reform'd Mankind by him, and brought them into a new State. A Man may safely swear, not one of the *Hebrews*, to whom this Epistle was written, understood the Author's Words in this sense; or ever dreamt that by [*the Worlds*] was only meant Mankind, much less only that part of them to whom the Light of the Gospel had then appear'd. The Words, which we render *Worlds*, are, by an *Hebraism*, used for the whole created Universe. Thus again in another place, (a) *By Faith we perceive that the Worlds were made by the Word of God.* Nor can you, I believe, either in Holy Scripture, or any profane Greek Author, find the Word understood in their Sense. In the *Jewish Liturgy*, God is frequently called *God, or Lord of Ages*, i. e. of all created things. They, as the Criticks in that Literature observe, make a three-fold *Æon*, Age, or World: The first, the inferior, the elementary Region; the second, the middle, the celestial Orbs; the third, the superior, the Mansion of the Divine Majesty and the Angels, which St. Paul calls the (b) *Third Heaven*. The Divine Author then intended to teach us that God the Father made all these *Æons*, Ages, Worlds, by his Son. This he again expressly affirms in the same (c) Chapter, where he says, that the Words of the Psalmist were spoken to the Son of God: *Thou Lord in the Beginning hast founded the Earth, the Heavens are the Works of thy Hands. They shall perish, but thou endurest; they all shall wax old as a Garment, and as a Vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be*

(a) Chap. II. ver. 3. (b) 2 Cor. xii. 2. (c) Ver. 10, 11, 12.
changed:

changed: but thou art the same, and thy Years shall not fail. What do the Hereticks again with these Words? As they used to do. They deny the Paragraph is applied to the Son of God, and say only that part of it, which speaks of what is not yet done, but future, namely, the Destruction of the World, is by the Author accommodated to him. But (not to say that it is the plain Design of the Author, to shew the Excellency of the Son of God from his present actual Attributes; nor to add, that both the Creation and Destruction of the World are alike the Work of a Divine Power, and not communicable to any Creature) what is this, if not impudently to contradict the Divine Author to his Face? Now, they say, it is too too plain, that these Words of the Psalmist are spoken to the supreme God, namely, to God the Father. Grant it, what then? Does it thence follow, that they are not also spoken to the Son of God? On the contrary, whatsoever is spoken to God the Father, as the Creator of the World, is spoken also to the Son, because God the Father, as the Author had said before, created all things by the Son. Moreover, tho' that Psalm seem to be nothing else than the Supplication of the People or Prophet for rebuilding *Jerusalem*, rased by the *Chaldeans*; yet (according to the generality of Interpreters) as the earthly *Jerusalem* is a Figure of the Church of Christ, so these things which are spoken of the rebuilding the earthly *Jerusalem*, are mystically to be refer'd to the building the spiritual and heavenly *Jerusalem*, the Church, the City and Kingdom of Christ. For the following Passages of this Psalm are not perfectly fulfill'd, except in Christ and his Church. (a) *Thou shalt arise and have Mercy upon Zion, for it is time to have Mercy upon her, yea the time is come. And, The Gentiles shall fear thy Name, O Lord, and all the Kings of the Earth thy Glory; for the Lord hath built Zion, and shall be seen in his Majesty.* And,

(a) Psalm cii.

The Lord looked down from Heaven upon the Earth, &c. And, When the People met together, and the Kings also to serve the Lord. Wherefore the other things also spoken of God belong to Christ. And indeed, if this was not plain from the Context, we must yield to the Authority of an inspir'd Writer. I will yet add, that the literal Sense of the Psalm, as it relates to the freeing God's People from the *Babylonish* Captivity, belongs to Christ, because he, as the Word and Son of God, always existing with God his Father, presided over and provided for the Church from the Beginning; yea, by his Providence, ruled and govern'd all created things. Nor can we think (as *Tertullian* tells us, in concert with the whole Church of Christ) that only the Works of the World were made by the Son, but also the things transacted by God since the Creation. Hence (a) *St. Paul* plainly teaches, that it was Christ who presided over the People of *Israel* in the Wilderness, after he had brought them out of the *Egyptian* Bondage, and who went before, and led them by the Hand, as it were, into the *Promised Land*.

These impious, troublesome Fellows, proceed in their Argument thus: If the Author of the Epistle had therefore cited this Testimony of the Psalmist to prove that the World was made by the Son of God, he had mis'd his End; for that was to shew that Excellency of the Son only which he had, being now placed at the *Right Hand of God*; a Purpose which could no way be serv'd, by applying to him the Creation of the World. But on the other hand, forasmuch as the Author cites this place of the Creation, and expressly applies it to the Son of God, we are assur'd that it was not his Design only to shew that Excellency of the Son, which he at length arriv'd at, af-

(a) 1 Cor. x. ver. 9. See the Defence of the N. C. Sect. 1. chap. 1. almost entirely concerning this matter, but especially sect. 12, 14, 15, 16.

ter his Exaltation at the Right Hand of God the Father. Besides, in the very beginning of the Chapter, the Author had briefly said these three Things of our Saviour; That he is the Son of God, by way of Distinction; that the Ages, or Worlds, were made by him; and, lastly, that he was made and declared Heir of all, when in his Flesh he was taken up into the highest Heavens, and there placed at the Right Hand of God the Father. For these several Reasons, the Author afterwards shews from Citations of Scripture, that he was not only far more excellent than the Prophets of God (as has been noted before) but also than the Angels themselves. Now this Testimony, of which we are treating, manifestly belongs to the second. For which Reason the Word translated [*being made*] ought to be render'd [*who is* ;] or, according to *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact*, expounded [*being exhibited and declared.*] Lastly, the Sophisters urge: If the Author of the Epistle had really believ'd, and been fully persuaded that all the Creatures were made by the Son of God, why should he so elaborately have made the Comparison between him and the Angels? Who could doubt whether the Creator was more excellent than the Creatures? I agree with them, that *no one could*. But at that Time, when this Epistle was written, there were many, namely, the *Cerinthians* and others, who attributed the Creation of this visible World at least to the Angels, in the mean time believing our Lord only a mere Creature, a Man, and no more, not existing before *Mary*, and consequently much inferior to the Angels. Further, the carnal *Jews*, who had not yet received the Doctrine of the Gospel, the Brethren of those to whom this Epistle is wrote, believed that the Christ, or Messiah promised by the Prophets, was to be nothing but a Man; and many of their Doctors thought that the Angels were Fellow-Workers with him in the Creation of the Lower World;

and

and that it was said to them by God, (a) *Let us make Man*. Against those the Divine Author sets himself to good purpose, when he explains the Excellency of Christ the Son of God above Angels; and he very appositely instructs us against them, when he says, that the Creation is certainly the Work of the supreme God by his Son, who himself is also God; and that this Work is not compatible with Angels at all, who are themselves Creatures, and (b) *ministring Spirits to God*.

I return at last to the Words of the Author: *God in these last Days hath spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath made Heir of all things, by whom also he made the Worlds*. It is indeed very clear, that the sacred Writer here intended to shew the Congruity of the Divine Dispensation, by which it was so manag'd, that the World should, in the Fulness of Time, be renewed by the same Son by which it was made in the Beginning; that he who was Lord in the old Creation, should be Heir and Lord in the new. Thus also St. Paul argues, (c) where he celebrates the same Son of God whom he had proclaim'd *the First-begotten of every Creature, i. e. begotten of God before every Creature, and Maker of all things* (for he who denies that the Apostle here speaks of a Creation, properly so called, may, with the same Assurance, deny that such a Creation is any where described in Scripture; and consequently contend that the first Chapter of *Genesis* is to be expounded allegorically) *as the Head of the Body, the Church, and the First-begotten from the Dead*. Immediately after (d) he adds this Reason, *That he might have the Pre-eminence in all things, i. e. that every way he might be above all, in respect of Restoration as well as Institution, as the Beginning of the World, and Head of the Church*. Thus, after examining all *Episcopus's* four Manners, in which our Saviour, as

(a) See Paul Fagius upon the Place; Philo Judæus de officio 6 dierum; and Justin's Dialogue with Trypho, p. 285.

(b) Ver. 14. (c) Coloss. chap. i. ver. 16, 17. (d) Ver. 18.

Man, is, by way of Eminence, called the Son of God in Scripture; we have proved that he can't, by any of them, be called the Only, or Only-begotten Son: nay, over and above, we have shew'd, that in the Places of Scripture in which these Modes or Manners seem'd to be contain'd, another, and a far more excellent Filiation of our Saviour is intended, namely, that in which he was with God, as the Only Son of God, before he was made Man, yea, before the Creation.

9. I proceed to the third Argument, taken from the Order and Context of the Creed itself. Now it is manifest, that *Episcopius's* four Modes are all express'd elsewhere in the Creed, therefore not denoted in those Words [*his Only-begotten Son,*] unless we admit a Tautology in so short a Form. The second Mode, concerning the Mission, or Unction of our Saviour to his Office, is signify'd just before, in the Word [*Christ.*] The other Three, his Conception by the Holy Spirit, his Resurrection from the Dead, and his Exaltation at the Right Hand of God the Father, are all afterwards express'd in distinct Articles. Wherefore, when in the Creed we confess Jesus Christ the Only-begotten Son of God, we plainly signify that he hath another Filiation, namely, a divine one, different from all the other.

The Author of the *Irenicum* eagerly (as his Custom is) contends, that the Words of the Creed, which follow these [*and in Jesus Christ his Only-begotten Son,*] are only-added for Description-sake, *That it might appear what a Son of God is here understood, namely, such an one as was born of the Virgin Mary, crucify'd, dead, raised again, taken up into Heaven, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead; all which things denote a singular, an only-begotten, and a proper Son of God.* But here the Heretick is as much mistaken as can be. For, (1.) No sober Man will believe, that in so short a Creed, all those things which are added concerning him, after he is
confess'd

confess'd to be the Only-begotten Son of God, are only added by way of Explication, that it might appear what a Son of God he is; for they make at least half the Creed. (2.) Most of those things that follow, make nothing any way to the purpose of our Lord's Filiation; namely, *He suffer'd under Pontius Pilate, was crucify'd, dead, and buried, he descended into Hell.* Therefore, (3.) We must conclude, that those things that follow the Profession of Faith in the Only-begotten Son of God, are not only added, that it might be the more clearly understood who this Son of God was, in whom we must believe; but also that it might appear what this Son of God did and suffer'd for us, what he undertook, and discharg'd for our Salvation; namely, that he was conceiv'd by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, was even made Man, and suffer'd under Pontius Pilate. This (a) *Ruffinus* tells us, who well knew the sense of the Roman Church, which used this Creed: *After that the designed Order of the Creed hath been laid before us, the ineffable Mystery of the Son's Nativity from the Father, it now descends to his vouchsafing to engage in the Business of Man's Salvation, and says that he, whom it had before called the Only Son of God, and our Lord, was born of the Virgin Mary, by the Holy Ghost. This Nativity relates to the Dispensation among Men, that [Sonship and Dominion] to his Divine Substance. This belongs to his Condescension, that to his Nature.* In order to understand this Exposition of *Ruffinus* the better, we are to consider that the antient Doctors of the Church divided all their Discourses upon Christ into these two Parts, *The Theology and the Oeconomy.* They call'd that the *Theology*, which belong'd to the Divinity of our Saviour, That he was the Son of God, begotten of God the Father before all Ages, and even God, and that by him all things were made. They called that the *Oeconomy*, or Dispensation, which belong'd to his Incarnation, and what he did upon

(a) *Expositio Symboli.*

Earth in the Flesh, to procure the Salvation of Mankind. Therefore in the Creed, call'd the *Apostles*, those Words in which we profess our Faith in the Only-begotten Son of God, relate to the Theology; but those that follow, concerning his Conception by the Holy Spirit, his Nativity of the Virgin, and his Passion, to the Dispensation, or Oeconomy (a). Thus the Bishops and Doctors of the Catholick Church, from the Apostles, understood and expounded the Rule of Faith concerning our Lord Christ. So (b) *Ignatius*, in his genuine Epistle to the *Ephesians*: *Our God Jesus Christ was conceived by Mary, according to the Dispensation of God, of the Seed of David, and the Holy Spirit. He was born and baptiz'd.* Therefore the Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Nativity, &c. according to *Ignatius*, doth not belong to the Description of the Son of God, but to that Dispensation which the Son of God, himself also God, undertook for our Salvation. Thus *Austin*, in the place often cited upon another occasion, says, This is the Faith requisite to the Salvation of all that live under the Gospel, by which they acknowledge *Christ the Son of God, who was even before Lucifer and the Moon, and who being incarnate, condescended to be born of the Virgin, that by this Dispensation, the Serpent, an Evil-doer from the Beginning, and the Angels like him, might be destroy'd, &c.* Here the Nativity is expressly refer'd to the Dispensation, which the Son of God, who was before Ages, underwent for our sakes. *Irenaeus* also giving us the Rule of Faith receiv'd in all the Churches, (which we have, for the most part, recited before) after the Profession of Faith in the Only-begotten Son of God, that is, after the Theology, presently adds, that the Holy Spirit had foretold by the Prophets, *the Dispensations and Advents, the Nativity of the Virgin, the Passion, Resurrection from the Dead, and the incarnate As-*

(a) Compare Gal. iv. 4. with Eph. i. 10.

(b) A. P. Tom. 2. p. 16.

sumption into Heaven of our beloved Lord Christ Jesus. Here he expressly refers the Articles of the Creed, concerning the coming of our Saviour into this World, *i. e.* concerning his Nativity of the Virgin, his Passion, and what he did upon Earth, till his Ascent into Heaven, to those Dispensations which he, the Only-begotten Son of God, underwent for our Salvation. The same Person (a) elegantly describes the Faith of a spiritual Man, a true Christian Catholick, concerning the Holy Trinity, in these Words: *He hath all things; he has an entire Faith in the One Almighty God, from whom are all things; a firm Persuasion in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, by whom are all things; and in his Dispensations, by which the Son of God was made Man; and a true Knowledge of the Holy Spirit of God, who through every Age represents to Men, according to the Will of the Father, the Dispensations of the Father and the Son.* Here again the holy Man shews, that there is a two-fold Knowledge of Christians concerning Christ contain'd in the Church's Rule of Faith; one which respects his Divine Person, that he is the Son of God, by whom all things were made; another which respects the Dispensations, that he the Son of God was made Man, &c. It will not be difficult then to judge, whether Exposition of the Creed is to be prefer'd, that of these Apostolical Men and Martyrs, (to whom all the following Catholick Fathers agree) or that of the Author of the *Irenicum*, a modern Opiniator.

10. Our fourth and last Argument is deduced from the Sense and Interpretation of the primitive Catholick Church. In the three first Ages, (for there is no Controversy about the following Ages) the Title of the *Only-begotten*, or *Only Son of God*, given to Christ, is plainly determin'd by the constant and perpetual use of all Catholick Doctors, to mean his Divine Generation from God the Father, before all Ages. All

(a) Lib. 4. chap. 62. p. 399.

of them agree to that of *Tertullian* (a), concerning the Son of God: *He is the First-begotten, as being begotten before all things; and the Only-begotten, as being alone begotten of God, properly, out of the Womb of his Heart.* For they all of them owned no other Son of God than he, who was begotten of the very Essence of God the Father; that is, who was the *Logos* and Word from his eternal Mind, as we have elsewhere abundantly proved (b). Now this is so sure and manifest, that (c) *Petavius* himself, otherwise a rigid Censor of them, is forced to confess concerning those *Ante-Nicene* Writers, who seem to have denied the Eternity of the Only-begotten Son of God, (for they only seem to deny it) that they asserted the Son to be *of the Substance or Nature of the Father.* What would we have, then? Hath not the *Roman Church* plainly enough expressed that peculiar manner of *Jesus Christ's* Filiation, concerning which *Episcopus* speaks in this Creed? Hath she not used the very Words by which all Persons confess this manner of Filiation was denoted in that Age and Church? What though some modern Heretick can coin a new Exposition? Surely, the Creeds of the Churches are to be expounded from the Sense of the Churches, and not the wild Imagination of Hereticks. If this were once admitted, there would soon be an end of every Article of our Faith. He does not hold the Creed of any Church, who does not understand it in the sense of the Church. The Author of a Piece ascrib'd to *Justin*, has spoke excellently upon this Head: (d) *It is not the bare giving Glory to the Father and the Son, that is to us the Means of Salvation; but a sound Confession of the Trinity conveys to us the Enjoyment of those good things laid up for the Pious. For one may hear Heterodox Men praising the Father and the Son, but not worshipping them in the true Sense.* In like manner (e) *St. Cyprian*, upon those Words of

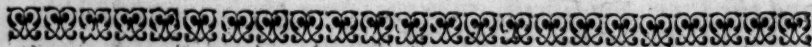
(a) Pag. 503. (b) *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, Sect. 2. throughout. (c) *De Trinitate*, Lib. 1. chap. 5. sect. 7. (d) P. 372. (e) P. 200.

Christ, Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: He suggests the Trinity, into which Mystery the Gentiles are baptiz'd. But does Marcion hold this Trinity? Does he assert the same Creator, God the Father, as we do? One and the same Son Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and made Flesh, &c. No, Marcion, and the other Hereticks, have a Faith widely different from ours, nay rather, they have nothing among them, but Perfidy, Blasphemy, and Contention, the Enemies of Truth and Holiness.

Thus let us also refute *Episcopus* and others, who would persuade us that the *Arians* and *Socinians* are to be esteem'd our Brethren, because, forsooth, they receive the common Creed of the Church, and profess Faith in Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, as well as we. But do they believe in the same Only-begotten Son of God, in which we Catholicks at this day, and all the Catholick Church always believ'd? No, their Faith is widely different, or rather, they have none. The Church believes, and always did believe in the Only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten of God the Father before all Ages, and was himself God; such a Son of God as neither of those Heresies sincerely confess. For the *Arians* (if you strip their Notion of its Vizard) have a Son of God Only-begotten too, who is indeed a Creature made of nothing, though more excellent than all the rest, and produced before them. The *Socinians* Only-begotten Son is a mere Man, not existing before his Nativity of the Virgin. Both of them in Word profess the Faith of the Church concerning the Only-begotten Son of God; but their inward Notion and Sentiment is clean Heresy and Blasphemy. Further, from what we have discoursed so largely concerning the Creed called the *Apostles*, you may see the Vanity, the Folly, and, if you please, the matchless Impudence of the (a) *Racovian Catechist*, who boasts, *That he and his*

(a) Catech, Racov. 1609. p. 39.

Friends only believe concerning the Person of Christ, that he is by Nature truly Man, as the Creed, commonly called the Apostles, and embrac'd by all Christians in common with them, testifies.



C H A P. VI.

Of the Antient Eastern Creed.

I. **I** Come now to the fourth and last Position; namely,

That Special Mode of Jesus Christ's Filiation, in which he existed in his better Nature before all Ages, being begotten of God the Father, and therefore God, is expressly taught and declar'd in the Creed, or Rule of Faith, which obtain'd in the most antient Eastern Churches before the Council of Nice.

2. It is not to be doubted but that the *Eastern Churches* had their Creed, or rather Creeds, before the Council of *Nice*; Creeds, I mean, more large and explicit than that first and most antient Creed *Episcopus* mentions, conceiv'd in these Words only, *I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*. It is very plain that the *Roman*, and the other *Western Churches*, had their Creed before the Council of *Nice*, larger than that simple Confession of the Trinity, from *Ruffinus* and *Austin*; nay, from *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and the Writers of the third Century. As for the *Roman Church*, which the other *Western Churches* generally follow'd, *Vossius* (a) hath given us the express Words of *Vigilius*, where he writes thus: *All profess to believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord. To this Head he [Eutyches] calum-*

(a) *Vossius de tribus Symbolis.*

niously objects this: *Why do they not say, And in one Jesus Christ his Son, according to the Decree of the Council of Nice? But at Rome, even before that Synod met, even from the Times of the Apostles till now, and under Cælestine, of blessed Memory, who he owns to be Orthodox, the Creed was the same; nor are the Words any way prejudicial, where the Sense is sound.*

Now if the *Roman* and *Western* Churches had such a Creed before the Council of *Nice*, why not the *Eastern* also? Nay, such a Creed was more necessary for these Churches than for the *Roman*, as I have (a) before observ'd from *Ruffinus*, because they were grievously disturb'd in the first Ages by Hereticks, who gave the *Roman* Church no Trouble. Besides, the *Greek Ante-Nicene* Writers frequently mention the Rule of Faith in their Writings; and *Irenæus*, an *Asiatick*, and doubtless one of them, gives us this Rule at large. So *Eusebius*, in the Synod of *Nice*, recited a larger Confession of Faith, which the Catechumen was taught, and profess'd in the Baptistry, before the Fathers had made their Creed (b).

3. Further, we must needs conclude, that the Churches of the *East* did not reject their antient Creed, after that of the Council was set forth. For we see that the *Roman* Church retain'd her old Creed after the Council. And who can doubt but that the Churches of the *East* did so likewise? For the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council being Oecumenical, did equally respect all the Churches of Christ; so that the case in this matter was the same as to *Eastern* and *Western*. Now the *Nicene* Fathers, I suppose, never had any Design either to make a new Creed, or to deliver down the old *Eastern* Creed entire, with their own Addition; but only to assert the true and receiv'd Sense of that Article of the old Creed relating to the Son of God, against the *Arians*. They indeed premise the Article of the old Creed, concerning God the Father (though

(a) See above, (b) Socrates, Lib. 1. chap. 8. p. 20, & 21.

not entire) to their Confession concerning the Son of God, and they subjoin to it something concerning the Faith in the Holy Spirit. But this they did, as thinking the Faith concerning the Son of God could not be explain'd justly, without a Profession of the Father and Holy Spirit. Hereupon, as soon as they have barely mention'd the Holy Spirit, they immediately return to the Article concerning the Son, their main Business, and denounce an Anathema against those who denied his true and eternal Divinity. Now I will prove hereafter, and that indisputably, that many things were left out in the *Nicene Creed* after those Words [*and in the Holy Ghost*] which were extant in the Creed receiv'd by the first *Eastern Churches*. This however is certain, that the *Nicene Bishops* never intended that their Creed should from that time be used in administering Baptism, (the Anathematism which concludes it, is repugnant to that end) but left every Church to use their former Creeds. Sure, if the Holy Synod had intended that, either the *Roman* and *Western Churches*, whose Bishops made a great part of the Synod, did not understand her Meaning, or despised it; which no sober Man can imagine. For *Ruffinus*, in his Preface to the Exposition of the *Aquileian Creed*, expressly testifies, *That at Rome they kept up the old Custom, that they who were to receive the Grace of Baptism, should repeat the Creed in the Audience of the People*; the old *Roman Creed*, of which he had been speaking before. And a little after he says, that he took upon him the old Creed of *Aquileia* (in some things different from the *Roman*) in the Grace of Baptism; that is, profess'd that Creed when he was baptiz'd.

4. These things premis'd, I proceed to prove my Position. The Churches of *Palestine* were the most ancient of all other, and of them the Church of *Jerusalem*, as being that from which the Doctrine of the Gospel first came, and was derived to the other parts of the World. Hence the *Constantinopolitan Fathers* called

called it *the Mother of all Churches* (a). Though this first Church, almost from the Institution of Metropolitans till the Council of *Chalcedon*, was subjected to *Cæsarea*; yet, for the Reason above-mention'd, all other Churches held it in great Esteem. Now what the antient Creed of *Jerusalem* was, and what it taught to believe concerning the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Cyril*, made Bishop of that Church in 350, will best inform us. He, while yet a Catechist, explain'd this Creed by parts to the *Competentes*; all which parts, joined together, make this Confession: *I believe in One God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, true God, by whom all things were made, incarnate and made Man, crucify'd and buried; who rose again from the Dead the third Day, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father, and who cometh to judge the Quick and the Dead, whose Kingdom shall have no End: And in the Holy Spirit the Comforter, who hath spoken by the Prophets; the one Baptism of Repentance, for the Remission of Sins; and in the one Catholick Church; the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life Everlasting.*

5. It is plain, this is not the *Nicene Creed*, and that it hath not the Additions of the *Constantinopolitan* concerning the Holy Ghost. The latter no one can wonder at, who remembers that *Cyril's* Catechisms, in which this Creed is recited, were wrote many Years before the Council of *Constantinople*, i. e. before the Year 381. It remains then, that this must be the old Creed of the Church of *Jerusalem*. This is also clear, because *Cyril* expounds it to the Candidates for Baptism: now in the Administration of Baptism, both the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches held their old Creeds, as I have shewn before, after the *Nicene* Council. In this Creed, every one may see the Divine Generation

(a) Theodor, E. H. Lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 211.

of the Son from God the Father, declar'd in the plainest Terms, namely, in these: *The Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Ages, true God, by whom all things were made.* Nor do I doubt but that *Eusebius*, a *Palestine* born, and afterwards Bishop of *Cæsarea*, had an eye to this Creed; when, in the Council of *Nicè*, giving an Account of the Confession he receiv'd in his Catechisation and Baptism, he thus delivers the Article concerning the Son of God: (a) *And in One Lord Jesus Christ, God of God, the Only-begotten Son, begotten of God the Father before all Ages, by whom all things were made.* Here we have the very Words of the Creed of *Jerusalem*, except that for [*True God*] *Eusebius* substitutes [*God of God*]: where he cautiously, as almost every where else, thought proper to guard against the *Sabellians*, by so asserting the true Divinity of the Son, as still to preserve the Father's Prerogative, who is God of himself, and the Distinction between Father and Son, founded in that Prerogative. To this also the *Nicene* Fathers consented, and so put the Words [*God of God*] in their Confession concerning the Son of God; yet adding, according to the old Creed, [*true God of true God*] and more fully explaining it, when they immediately call the Son of God consubstantial with the Father; *i. e.* not of any created or changeable Nature, but altogether of the same truly divine and immutable Nature with God the Father: which also was always *Eusebius's* Opinion (b).

6. There are indeed some learned Men, who contend that those Catechisms are not *Cyril's*, but one *John's*, his Predecessor, or Successor in the See of *Jerusalem*. If this was true, we have nothing to fear from it; for whether *Cyril* or *John* wrote them, it is certain the Creed in them is that usually explain'd to the *Competentes* in the Church of *Jerusalem*,

(a) *Socrates*, Lib. i. chap. 8. p. 21.

(b) See the Defence of the *Nicene* Creed, Sect. 4. chap. 1.

and therefore antiently received in it. But (a) *Vossius* has clearly proved the Catechisms to be *Cyrl's*, against these superfine Criticks. (b) *Jerome*, *Cyrl's* Contemporary, expressly says they are his, and that they were wrote in his Youth. And *Theodoret*, to name no more, cites them as *Cyrl's*. But yet the same *Vossius* says in the same place, *That there is something which may occasion a Scruple, not touch'd upon by any, namely, that in this Creed there are some things which seem to be taken from the Constantinopolitan, i. e. what is added after the Words [the Holy Spirit] the Paraclete, who spake by the Prophets, and in the one Baptism of Repentance, &c.* The learned Man thought that those things were not in the *Eastern Creed* before the Council of *Constantinople*; induced, as he himself tells us, by the Conclusion of the *Nicene Creed*, in these Words [*and in the Holy Spirit.*] But there is nothing in this (though the great *Erasmus* has also urg'd it) as hath already appear'd from the beginning of this Chapter, and as I shall make more plain by what I have to say hereafter. As for the Additions in the Creed of *Jerusalem*, after the Words [*in the holy Spirit*] I will clearly prove that they were not taken from the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, but were in the most antient *Eastern Creeds* long before the Council of *Constantinople*, or even that of *Nice*.

7. (1.) It is certain that the Creeds which the *Western Churches* used before the Council of *Constantinople*, and even that of *Nice*, did not end in those Words [*and in the Holy Spirit*] but had after them other Articles of Faith. Now who can consider what we have before observ'd concerning the Original of almost all Heresy in the *East*, and yet easily believe that the *Western Creeds* were larger than theirs. Now it is readily proved that there were some Heads of Christian Doctrine in the antient Creeds of the *West*, subjoined to the Article concerning the Holy Spirit. For

(a) De tribus Symbolis, Diff. 1. Thef. 51. (b) Catalogus Scriptor. Eccles.

of the Son from God the Father, declar'd in the plainest Terms, namely, in these: *The Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Ages, true God, by whom all things were made.* Nor do I doubt but that *Eusebius*, a *Palestine* born, and afterwards Bishop of *Cæsarea*, had an eye to this Creed; when, in the Council of *Nicæ*, giving an Account of the Confession he receiv'd in his Catechisation and Baptism, he thus delivers the Article concerning the Son of God: (a) *And in One Lord Jesus Christ, God of God, the Only-begotten Son, begotten of God the Father before all Ages, by whom all things were made.* Here we have the very Words of the Creed of *Jerusalem*, except that for [*True God*] *Eusebius* substitutes [*God of God*]: where he cautiously, as almost every where else, thought proper to guard against the *Sabellians*, by so asserting the true Divinity of the Son, as still to preserve the Father's Prerogative, who is God of himself, and the Distinction between Father and Son, founded in that Prerogative. To this also the *Nicene* Fathers consented, and so put the Words [*God of God*] in their Confession concerning the Son of God; yet adding, according to the old Creed, [*true God of true God*] and more fully explaining it, when they immediately call the Son of God consubstantial with the Father; i. e. not of any created or changeable Nature, but altogether of the same truly divine and immutable Nature with God the Father: which also was always *Eusebius's* Opinion (b).

6. There are indeed some learned Men, who contend that those Catechisms are not *Cyril's*, but one *John's*, his Predecessor, or Successor in the See of *Jerusalem*. If this was true, we have nothing to fear from it; for whether *Cyril* or *John* wrote them, it is certain the Creed in them is that usually explain'd to the *Competentes* in the Church of *Jerusalem*,

(a) *Socrates*, Lib. i. chap. 8. p. 21.

(b) See the Defence of the *Nicene* Creed, Sect. 4. chap. 1.

and therefore antiently received in it. But (a) *Vossius* has clearly proved the Catechisms to be *Cyri*'s, against these superfine Criticks. (b) *Jerome*, *Cyri*'s Contemporary, expressly says they are his, and that they were wrote in his Youth. And *Theodoret*, to name no more, cites them as *Cyri*'s. But yet the same *Vossius* says in the same place, *That there is something which may occasion a Scruple, not touch'd upon by any, namely, that in this Creed there are some things which seem to be taken from the Constantinopolitan, i. e. what is added after the Words [the Holy Spirit] the Paraclete, who spake by the Prophets, and in the one Baptism of Repentance, &c.* The learned Man thought that those things were not in the *Eastern Creed* before the Council of *Constantinople*; induced, as he himself tells us, by the Conclusion of the *Nicene Creed*, in these Words [*and in the Holy Spirit.*] But there is nothing in this (though the great *Erasmus* has also urg'd it) as hath already appear'd from the beginning of this Chapter, and as I shall make more plain by what I have to say hereafter. As for the Additions in the Creed of *Jerusalem*, after the Words [*in the holy Spirit*] I will clearly prove that they were not taken from the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, but were in the most antient *Eastern Creeds* long before the Council of *Constantinople*, or even that of *Nice*.

7. (1.) It is certain that the Creeds which the *Western Churches* used before the Council of *Constantinople*, and even that of *Nice*, did not end in those Words [*and in the Holy Spirit*] but had after them other Articles of Faith. Now who can consider what we have before observ'd concerning the Original of almost all Heresy in the *East*, and yet easily believe that the *Western Creeds* were larger than theirs. Now it is readily proved that there were some Heads of Christian Doctrine in the antient Creeds of the *West*, subjoined to the Article concerning the Holy Spirit. For

(a) De tribus Symbolis, Diff. 1. Thef. 51. (b) Catalogus Scriptor. Eccles.

(a) *Cyprian*, speaking to *Magnus* of the Creed the *Novatians*, as well as the *Catholicks*, used in Baptism, says; *When they say, Dost thou believe the Remission of Sins, and Life Everlasting by the Holy Church? They ask a false Question, because they have no Church.* Here you have three Articles, of the Church, the Remission of Sins, and Everlasting Life, express'd in the old *African Creed*. Further, (b) *Tertullian* expressly makes the Article concerning the Church a necessary Part of the Confession to be made by one who is to be baptiz'd. Now when the Evidence of our Faith, and the Security or Assurance of our Salvation is pledg'd to us before three [divine Persons, namely, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit] the mention of the Church is necessary to be added. To the same purpose is what (c) *Tertullian* says of Christ not baptizing in his own Person: *Into what should he baptize them? Into Repentance? To what purpose then was his Fore-runner? Into Remission of Sins? He gave that with a Word. Into himself, whom he veil'd with Humility? Into the Holy Spirit, who was not yet descended from the Father? Into the Church, whom the Apostles had not yet built?* Here we have the Article of the Remission of Sins hinted, &c. This I mention in particular, upon *Erasmus's* account, who says that Article was added against *Novatus*. But *Novatus* had not yet appear'd in the World in *Tertullian's* time; for he was *Novatian's* Contemporary, assisted him in promoting his Schism, and therefore disturbed the Church in *St. Cyprian's* days; whence it came to pass that some, especially the *Greeks*, confounded *Novatus* and *Novatian*, as the same *Herefiarch*; contrary to which (d) *St. Cyprian* writes, *You have behav'd with Diligence and Affection, dearest Brother, in sending Nicephorus the Acolyth to us speedily, to tell the glorious and agreeable News to us and the Confessors which are return'd, and to instruct us fully against the pernicious and novel Attempts of Novatus and Novatian to oppose*

(a) P. 183. Ep. ad Magnum. (b) P. 226. (c) P. 228.

(d) P. 95. Ep. ad Cornelium 52.

the Church of Christ. Besides, the *Novatians* baptiz'd into the same Rule of Faith with the *Catholicks*; and more, requir'd of their Followers the Profession of the Article concerning the Remission of Sins, as is plain also from (a) *St. Cyprian.* For *Novatus*, or *Novatian*, did not simply deny the Remission of Sins, but both of them, that that Remission did not belong to certain heinous Sins (such as they were polluted with, who sacrific'd to Idols, or pretended to have done it) committed after Baptism; or at least were not to be remitted according to the course of Church-Discipline (b). But this by way of Digression.

8. (2.) In the (c) *Apostolical Constitutions*, we have a Confession of Faith, or a Creed to be recited by Persons to be baptiz'd; in which, after the Profession of Faith in God the Father unbegotten, and in his Only-begotten Son, begotten before Ages, begotten, not made; it follows, *I am also baptiz'd into the Holy Spirit, that is, the Comforter, who hath operated in all Saints from the Beginning, and who was lately sent to the Apostles by the Father, according to the Promise of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ; and after the Apostles, to all that believe in the Holy Catholick Church, the Resurrection of the Flesh, the Remission of Sins, the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Life of the World to come.* Here we have almost all those Words, which in the *Jerusalem Creed* follow that Article, [*And in the Holy Ghost*] with this difference, that the Author expounds the Words [*who spake by the Prophets*] thus, [*who operated in all Saints from the Beginning*] and transposes the other Articles. Those Words only [*And in one Baptism of Repentance*] are wanting, of which hereafter. Now that very excellent Person (d) *Cardinal Bona*, and other learned Men, give this consentient Opinion of the *Constitutions*: *Whatsoever may be said of the Author of these Constitutions, all agree that it is certain and evident they were more antient than the Council of*

(a) See above. (b) *Socrates*, E. H. Lib. i. cap. 10.

(c) *Tom.* i. P. A. Lib. 7. cap. 41. p. 380.

(d) *Rerum Liturg.* Lib. i. cap. 8. Sect. 4.

Nice; and that in them is contain'd the Discipline of the Christian Church before Constantine the Great, as the learned (a) Morinus tells us; to whom (b) Joannes Fronto assents in his Observations before the Roman Calendar. Now as to the Creed in those Constitutions, the Author (or rather Interpolator) of the Book gives us an entire Paraphrase of it, according to Custom; but yet it is clear, that the Creed in his Eye was neither the *Nicene* nor the *Constantinopolitan*, (it has not the Additions of the one against *Arius*, nor of the other against *Macedonius*) but manifestly agrees with the Creed of *Jerusalem*.

9. (3.) The third Argument may be taken from the Confession of Faith which *Arius* and *Euzoius* offer'd to *Constantine* in their own Names, and those of their Accomplices; and by which they intended to persuade the Emperor, that in all things they believ'd as the whole *Catholick Church* and the *Scriptures* teach (c). Now in that Confession, after the Article concerning the Holy Spirit, are these words: *And in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life of the World to come, and the Kingdom of Heaven, and the one Catholick Church of God*. Here you have three of the four Articles in the *Jerusalem Creed* placed after the Article concerning the Holy Spirit, though not in the same Order. But since this Confession of Faith was written many Years before the Synod of *Constantinople*, it is impossible that the Hereticks should have follow'd that Precedent in the Recital of those Articles. It remains then, that they had an Eye to the old *Eastern Creed*, in which those Articles are. In the like manner, in the Creed of the *Eastern Bishops* at *Sardica* (an *Arian Council*) as we have it in the Fragments of *Hilary*, after the Profession of Faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, &c. are these Words; *We believe in the Holy Church, the Remission of Sins, the*

(a) De sacris Ordin. pars 2. p. 20. (b) In Prænotatis ad Calendar. Rom. sect. 5. (c) Socrates, Lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 51.

Resurrection of the Flesh, and eternal Life. Here you have the Article of Remission of Sins, which was omitted in the former Confession.

10. (4.) To these clear Arguments, I have yet one evident Reason to add. Those Words in the *Jerusalem Creed* which follow [*and in the Holy Spirit*] manifestly concern certain Heresies which disturb'd the Church of Christ, especially the *Eastern*, most in the second Century, and which were silenc'd long before the Council of *Constantinople*: It is therefore absurd to determine that those Additions were then made to the *Eastern Creed*; I mean, the Heresies of *Simon*, *Menander*, *Cerintus*, and others, comprehended under the general Name of *Gnosticks*, which (a) *Gregory Nazianzen*, who flourish'd at the time of the Council of *Constantinople*, and before it, says, had in his days a long time disappear'd. It remains, then, that I prove those Articles which follow that of the Holy Spirit in the Creed of *Jerusalem*, to be levell'd against the Dotage, or rather the monstrous Opinions of the *Gnosticks*. If in the explaining this matter, I shall be longer than ordinary, I suppose it will neither be ungrateful or unprofitable to a Lover of Antiquity.

11. I shall begin with the Words immediately following, [*the Comforter, who spake by the Prophets.*] The Word here render'd *Comforter*, is in the Scripture a known Appellation of the Holy Spirit, and of an extensive Signification; for it denotes a Teacher, a Comforter, and an Advocate. Now this Epithet of the Holy Ghost is not in the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, the Reason of which Omission I shall explain a little hereafter: but it is (as I have shewn above) in the *Clementine Creed*, and in the Creed of the *Arians* at *Sardica*. It is very probable, that Word was added against the *Gnosticks*; for most of those Hereticks taught that the Paraclete and Holy Spirit were two different *Æons* (b). But not to insist upon this, the

(a) Orat. 23. (b) Vide Tertullian contra Valentin. p. 253, & 255.

following Words [*who spake by the Prophets*] are plainly directed against the Heresy of the *Gnosticks*. For almost all of them taught, that there was one God, the Maker of this visible World, preach'd by the Law and the Prophets, and another who is manifested in the Gospel; and that the old Prophets were not inspir'd by the Holy Spirit, but by a certain Power proceeding from that God of the World, (which some of them were not afraid to call Evil) therefore their Writings were not to be regarded, nay, to be utterly rejected. Ignatius, no doubt, had an eye to this Heresy, when he thus admonishes the *Philadelphians*: (a) *Let us love the Prophets, because they also preach'd the Gospel.* His Interpolator has rightly understood his Meaning: (b) *The Prophets and Apostles received from God by Jesus Christ the same Holy Spirit, the good, the great, the true, the communicative, the right Spirit. For there is one God of the Old and New Testament. There is one Mediator of God and Men, for the Creation of spiritual and sensible Things, and a proper and regular Providence over them: And there is one Paraclete, who operated in Moses, the Prophets and Apostles.* And a little after, *If any one confesses the Lord Jesus Christ, but denies the God of the Law and the Prophets, affirming that the Father of Christ is not the Maker of Heaven and Earth, such an one is not in the Truth, even as the Devil is not; and such an one is a Disciple of Simon Magus, but not of the Holy Spirit.* Many such like Passages you may find in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and other Antients.

12. I am wholly of opinion, that those Words [*who spake by the Prophets*] or those equivalent to them, were placed in the most antient *Eastern* Creeds, against this Blasphemy of the *Gnosticks*. For *Irenæus* giving us the Rule of Faith which obtain'd in his time, hath these Words upon the Article concerning the Holy Spirit, [*who preach'd the Dispensations of God by the Prophets.*] In like manner, in the Compendium of the old

(a) Tom. 2. P. A. p. 32.

(b) P. 82.

Creed, cited in *Greek* by *Damascene*, and by us transcribed entire above, the Faith in the Holy Spirit is thus expounded: *And a true Knowledge of the Holy Spirit, which represents to Men in every Age the Dispensations of God, as the Father pleases.* Thus *Athenagoras*, something antienter than *Irenæus*, giving us the Confession of all Christians concerning the Trinity in Unity, thus represents the Catholick Faith concerning the Holy Spirit: (a) *And we say that the Holy Ghost, which worked in the Prophets, was an Efflux of God.* In the same place, a little before he had said, *The prophetical Spirit also says as we do.* Before these, (b) *Justin* also expounding the Christian Faith concerning the most glorious Trinity, describes the third Person after the same manner: *We also worship and adore him, and the Son that came from him, and the prophetick Spirit, honouring them in Reason and Truth.* To this we have a (c) parallel place: *We with reason honour the prophetick Spirit in the third place.* Again, speaking of the Prophets of the Old Testament, he adds, (d) *By whom the prophetick Spirit foretold what was to come before it came.* What follows in the (e) same Piece, comes yet nearer to the Words of the *Jerusalem Creed*, where again treating of the Faith and Confession of the Holy Trinity, into which the Christians of his time were baptiz'd, he thus expresses what belongs to the third Person: *And he who is baptiz'd, is also wash'd in the Name of the Holy Spirit, who foretold by the Prophets all the things concerning Jesus.* Sure he must have little Judgment or Candour, who can consider so many and so plain Testimonies, and yet deny that the Words [*who spake by the Prophets*] or Words equivalent to them, were used to describe the Holy Spirit in the most antient *Eastern Creed*. I have indeed often wonder'd that the *Constantinopolitan Fathers* should add [*who spake by the Prophets*] after these Words ap-

(a) Pag. 10, & 11. (b) P. 56. (c) P. 60. (d) P. 72.
(e) P. 94.

plied to the Holy Spirit [*the Lord, giving Life, proceeding from the Father, who, together with the Father and the Son, is worshipp'd and glorify'd.*] The Addition seem'd low and mean, after those magnificent Expressions. But after I understood that the old *Eastern* Creed had these Words [*the Paraclete, who spake by the Prophets,*] I came to this Determination, that the Synod, instead of [*the Paraclete*] had given us those magnificent Expressions, the more clearly to assert the true Divinity of the Spirit against *Macedonius*; and then added [*who spake by the Prophets*] because it was so read in the antient Creed: This by the way.

13. I proceed to the following Article, *In one Baptism of Repentance, in the Remission of Sins.* These, in *Cyril's* printed Catechisms, are two distinct Members; but by all means to be joined in one Article, as we have it in the *Constantinopolitan* Creed: *I confess one Baptism for the Remission of Sins*; so that Baptism is here made the means of obtaining Remission, and Remission the end of Baptism. This Article, I am fully persuaded, is directed against the Heresy of the *Gnosticks*. For *Irenæus* (a) says of the *Valentinians*, that by the Delusions of the Devil they were led into the Denial of Baptism, by which we are regenerated to God, and consequently into the Rejection of all Faith. Now all of them did not defend this Impiety after the same manner; for one Sect of them did annul the only Baptism of Christ, by the Distinction of a two-fold Baptism; the other took away all Baptism which is perform'd by external Rites. Of the former, *Irenæus* writes a little after, in the same Chapter, thus: *For the Baptism of Jesus, who appear'd, is that of the Remission of Sins; but the Redemption of Christ, who descended into him, is to Perfection. The one they suppose to be animal, the other spiritual; that Baptism was preach'd by John to Repentance, but the Redemption was brought by Jesus to Perfection. And that this is what he speaks of, when he*

(a) Pag. 106. Lib. I. cap. 18.

says, I have another Baptism to be baptiz'd with, to which I press forward with all Might. Of these, *Irenæus* speaks afterwards, that they celebrated that external Water-Baptism in another Form, and by other Rites than those receiv'd in the Catholick Church. Of the later Sect of the *Valentinians*, (a) *Irenæus* treats towards the end of the Chapter, cited thus: *But others rejecting all these things, say, we ought not to perform the Mystery of the unspeakable and invisible Power, by visible and corruptible Creatures; of inconceivable and incorporeal things, by those which are sensible and bodily; and that the perfect Redemption is the very Acknowledgment of the ineffable Majesty.* Is it not plain, then, that the Article of the *Jerusalem Creed*, *I believe in one Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins*, is a very proper Antidote against these impious Tenets of the *Gnosticks*. For the Catholicks profess'd in these Words, First, That Baptism was necessary, both as commanded, and as a mean, at least an ordinary one: Then, that there was only one Baptism of Christ, namely, that which the Church observes. Lastly, that that one Baptism, is the Baptism of Repentance and Remission of Sins; and that no Man arrives at that Perfection in this Life, as not to stand in need of Remission of Sins. Moreover, I therefore really think, that *Irenæus* had an eye to this Article of the old *Eastern Creed*; because, in his Rule of Faith, he observes, that we are taught to believe, that eternal Salvation will be given not only to them who have kept the Commandments of our Lord from the Beginning, but also to them who have done it by, or after Repentance; universal Repentance, a Departure out of a State of Sin and Death, into a State of Righteousness and Salvation.

14. I now come to the Article [*And in one Catholick Church.*] The Word *Catholick*, some Persons think to be lately added, against the *Novatians*, and other

(a) Pag. 108.

Schismatics, who, in the third Century, disturb'd the Peace of the Church. Of this Opinion was (a) *J. G. Vossius*. However, it is certain, (though the great Man seems not to have observ'd it) that the Church had that Attribute in the very Age after the Apostles. For in the Epistle of the *Smyrnaan Brethren*, concerning the Blessed *Polycarp's* Martyrdom, we have it mention'd in the Salutation thus: (b) *The Church of God which is at Smyrna, to the Church at Philomelium, and to all the Dioceses of the Holy Catholick Church every where, Mercy, Peace, and the Love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.* In the same Epistle, the *Smyrnaans* say, that *Polycarp* being about to die, remember'd in his Prayers, *The whole Catholick Church throughout the World* (c). Nay, before *Polycarp*, *Ignatius* expressly gives this Epithet to the Church of God, saying, *Wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholick Church.* Well, then, said (d) *Valesius*, *This Surname appears to have been given the Church about the first Succession of the Apostles, when Heresies arose in many places, and attempted to subvert the true Faith of Christ, and the Tradition of the Apostles. For then the Name Catholick was given to the Orthodox only, that the true genuine Church of Christ might be distinguish'd from the spurious Conventicles of Hereticks.* Now it is further to be observ'd, that the *Gnosticks*, who chiefly spread their Heresies in the first Succession of the Apostles, were most of them so consummately impudent, as to boast, that the pure and sincere Gospel was only taught in their Conventicles; that they alone had discover'd and knew the Mysteries of God, and the true Way of obtaining Salvation, whence also they assum'd the Name of *Gnosticks*: but that that Doctrine which the Catholick Church had receiv'd from the Apostles, and embraced, was generally false

(a) De tribus Symbolis, Diff. 1. Thes. 39.

(b) Euseb. E. H. Lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 104.

(c) A. P. Tom. 2. p. 37.

(d) Notes upon Euseb. Lib. 7.

and spurious. Thus (a) *Irenæus* writes of them: *When they are refuted out of the Scriptures, they arraign them, as not right, nor authoritative, as having various Readings, and not being able to instruct those in the Truth, who know not Tradition. For they say, that the Truth was not written, but spoken; and that Paul therefore said, But we speak Wisdom among those that are perfect, but not the Wisdom of this World. Now every one of them calls his own Fiction Wisdom; so that according to them, forsooth, the Truth is sometimes in Valentinus, sometimes in Marcion, sometimes in Cerinthus, and lastly, in Basilides. For every one of them being very forward, is not asham'd to preach up himself, corrupting the Rule of Truth. Again, When we appeal to Apostolical Tradition, preserved in the Churches through the Successions of Presbyters, they oppose Tradition; advance, that they have found out the sincere Truth, and are wiser not only than the Presbyters, but even the Apostles; that the Apostles mix the things of the Law with the Words of our Saviour; and that not only the Apostles, but our Lord himself, spoke sometimes from the Creator, sometimes from a middle Power, and sometimes from the highest; but that they do certainly, purely and sincerely know the hidden Mystery, which is the most impudent Blasphemy against their Maker. Against these impious Opiniators, all the Sons of the Church of that Age were very justly engag'd to profess their Faith in one Catholick Church, i. e. that they would constantly adhere to that Doctrine and Faith, which, according to the Holy Scriptures, was preach'd with one Consent in all the Apostolical Churches by the Bishops and Doctors. The Sense of the Article can't be better express'd than it is by (b) *Irenæus*: We ought not now to seek the Truth of others, which we may easily have from the Church, since the Apostles have very largely cast into it, as into a rich Treasury, all Truth; so that he who will, may draw from it living Water. This is the way to Life, all the rest are Thieves and Robbers; wherefore*

(a) Lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 230.

(b) Lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 242.

we ought to avoid them; but, with all diligence, to chuse what the Church offers, and to lay hold upon the Tradition of Truth.

15. The other two Articles, of the Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Life, we have expressly in the Clementine Creed, in the Confession of Arius and Euzoius, in that also of the pretended Arian Synod of Sardica, and in Irenæus's Rule of Faith. It is too well known, to need any Proof, that most of the Gnosticks denied the Resurrection of the Flesh, and consequently the Life Everlasting. For thus (a) Irenæus speaks of them: Surely they are vain Men to condemn the whole Dispensation of God, to deny the Salvation of the Flesh, and to reject its Renovation, saying, that it is not capable of Incorruptibility. The same Heresy he (b) charges upon Basilides by name, and (c) Marcion, in which (d) Tertullian agrees with him. The same impious Tenet (e) Austin imputes to Simon Magus, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Apelles, and other Hereticks of the same Stamp. Now from what has been said, it follows plainly, that the Words in the Jerusalem Creed, after these, [and in the Holy Spirit] were not added to the Eastern Creed by the Constantinopolitan Fathers, but placed there long before the Synod of Constantinople, or that of Nice, against the impious Dotage of the Gnosticks, who began in the beginning of the second Century to set their false Wares to publick Sale.

16. That you may plainly see the Antiquity of this whole Hierosolymitan Creed, I will not think it too much briefly to shew, that even the preceding Articles of it, concerning God the Father and the Son, are so drawn up, as manifestly to strike at the Blasphemy of the Gnosticks. The Article concerning God the Father, is conceiv'd in these Words: *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth,*

(a) Lib. 5. cap. 2. p. 434.

(b) Lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 119.

(c) Cap. 29. p. 129.

(d) De præscript. adv. Hæreticos.

(e) De Hæresibus.

and of all things visible and invisible. The *Cerinthians*, and the other *Gnosticks*, did not acknowledge God the Father as Creator, asserting, that *Demiurgus*, the Creator, the God of this World, was one, and the Father of our Lord Christ another. The *Cerdonites* and *Marcionites* were not afraid to say, that there were two Gods, two Principles. But all the *Gnosticks* attributed the visible and invisible things to different Creators, and denied that this visible World was made by the supreme God. It follows in the Creed, [*and in one Lord Jesus Christ.*] The *Cerinthians* (as I have shewn in this Piece, and elsewhere) denied that Jesus Christ was one, separating Jesus from Christ; and affirming, that Christ descended from above into Jesus, when he was baptiz'd, and at his Passion flew back again into his *Pleroma*. The same *Cerinthians*, and the *Carpocratians* (with whom the *Ebionites* also agreed in this) taught that our Lord Jesus was a mere Man, the Son of a Man, and that he did not exist before he was born of *Mary*. The following Words glance at them, namely, *the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Ages, true God.* All the *Gnosticks* denied that God the Father made all things by his Son; it was therefore added, *by whom all things were made.* What follows, namely, *Incarnate, and made Man, crucify'd, &c.* manifestly strike at the *Docetae*, who affirmed, that our Lord only seemed to be born, to suffer, and to die; which Heresy almost all the *Gnosticks* defended. After the Article concerning Christ's coming to judge the Quick and the Dead, are these Words, *Whose Kingdom shall have no end.* These Words, though not in the *Nicene Creed*, are in the *Constantinopolitan*, notwithstanding that they have no relation to the *Macedonian Controversy*. We have also the same Words in the *Clementine Creed*. Now that they were not added by the *Constantinopolitan Fathers*, but were in the old Creed which obtain'd in the *East* long before the Council of *Constantinople*, or even of *Nice*, is plain from this, that we find Words equivalent to them in
most

most of the (a) *Arian* Confessions, in which they endeavour'd to persuade others, that they had strictly observ'd the antient Rule of Catholick Faith. So the (b) *Eusebians*, in their Confession, say, they believe that Christ will come to judge the Quick and the Dead, and will remain a King and a God for ever. Thus also the Confession of (c) *Theophronius* speaks of Christ, That he shall come again with Glory and Power to judge the Quick and the Dead, and shall remain for ever. The Confession of the *Arians*, sent into France by *Marcellus*, and others, more fully explains this Clause, thus: (d) *Whose indissoluble Kingdom remains for infinite Ages.* Their Confession sent into Italy by *Macedonius*, and others, and the Confession of the Council of *Syrmium*, speak to the same purpose. It is therefore manifest, that Clause concerning the Eternity of Christ's Kingdom was in the old *Eastern Creed*. That most antient Writer (e) *Justin Martyr* seems also to have had an eye to this Creed, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*; where, after a Paraphrase upon the Rule of Faith concerning our Lord Christ, he introduces *Trypho*, as it were, repeating the Article of Christ's future Judgment, thus: *For to him it is given to judge all Men without exception, and his is the eternal Kingdom.* Now, I am of opinion, that the Clause [*whose Kingdom shall have no end,*] was design'd against the *Cerinthians*, who taught that those glorious things spoken in Scripture concerning Christ's Kingdom, were to be understood of a certain, earthly, carnal, and even *Epicurean* Kingdom, which should continue only a thousand Years. There were indeed in the first Age after the Apostles, very many of the Catholicks (*Justin* also, whom I have cited, was one of them) who expected that Christ should reign upon Earth a thousand Years: but then their Opinion, though perhaps erroneous, was widely different from

(a) Pars 2. Tom. 1. p. 735. Athanasius.

(b) P. 737.

(c) P. 738.

(d) Vide quæ sequuntur de Synodis, &c.

(e) P. 264.

the *Cerinthian* Heresy. For the Catholicks did not place the Happiness of that Kingdom in the Gratifications of the Belly and the Flesh, in Meats and Drinks, and Marriages; which, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus* (a) informs us, was the obscene and sordid Opinion of *Cerinthus*; but expected a Kingdom, in which Peace should flourish, Truth, Justice, and Piety should prevail, and the holy Name of God should be every where duly praised. Lastly, the Catholicks only expected this temporary Kingdom of Christ, as a Prelude (if we may so speak) of that heavenly Kingdom which they believed was to endure for ever.

17. From what we have discours'd, I suppose, it is now very clear, that the *Jerusalem* Creed is very antient, and indeed no other than the old *Eastern* Creed, which the Apostolical Men compos'd as an Antidote against the manifold Heresy of the *Gnosticks*, that very insolently exerted itself in those Parts, just after the Decease of the Apostles. Hence (b) *Cyril* calls it the *Holy Apostolical Faith*, deliver'd to us for our Profession. Moreover, from these things, we may easily conclude it more antient than all the Creeds of the *West*, not excepting the *Roman*. *Vossius* reports it as a strange and absurd Opinion of a learned Man, *Joannes Rodolphus Lavaterus*, that he thought the Creed called the *Apostles*, was made out of the *Constantinopolitan*; and cites these Words of his concerning Christ's Descent into Hell: *I verily believe this Confession (of the Council of Constantinople) was afterwards a little changed, and put off for the Apostles Creed.* Now I profess myself so far of this learned Man's Opinion, as to think the Creed called the *Apostles*, that is, the *Roman*, was made up out of the *Jerusalem*, or antient *Eastern* Creed, with which the *Constantinopolitan* well agrees, except in the Additions made against *Arius* and *Macedonius*.

(a) Euseb. E. H. p. 223. Lib. 7. cap. 25.

(b) Catech. 18. p. 501.

18. I will explain my Opinion more clearly in the following Positions: (1.) The Form, in which the Persons to be baptiz'd did antiently profess their Faith in the Holy Trinity, was simple, and conceiv'd generally in these Words, *I believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit*. This is the allow'd Opinion of the most learned modern Divines, nor hath *Episcopus*, as we have seen already, dissented from it. (2.) The Hereticks would not suffer the Church long to enjoy this simple Confession of the Trinity: For whereas in the very times of the Apostles, there arose the *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, *Cerinthians*, and other Hereticks, of the same Stamp, who were very busy in privately corrupting the sound Doctrine concerning God the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit, and other chief Articles of Christianity; these false Apostles, soon after their Decease, began more audaciously to spread their Heresies. Hereupon, the Bishops of the Churches where the Hereticks gave disturbance, thought fit to compose a larger Confession of Faith, and require it of the Persons to be baptiz'd; namely, such an one as might more clearly expound the true Notion of the Trinity; adding also those other Articles of the Christian Faith, which the same Hereticks did in like manner oppose. (3.) Those first Hereticks arose in the *East*, and, for the most part, disturb'd the *Eastern* Churches alone, as hath been proved. (4.) Hence we easily gather, that the first larger Confession of Faith was made in the *East*; for where the Poison was first spread, there the Antidote was prepar'd. (5.) The Explanations and Additions which were made by the Orientals to the first and most simple Confession of Faith, were most of them (though some later than others) received into their Confession of Faith afterwards by the *Roman* and *Western* Churches. For in the times of *Ruffinus*, the Creeds of *Rome* and *Aquileia* had not [*Creator of Heaven and Earth*] in their Article concerning God the Father. For *Ruffinus* doth not explain these Words in the *Aquileian* Creed, nor tell us, that

that they were added in the *Roman*. But it is plain, from what has been said before, that the Clause concerning the Creation of all things by the supreme God, was put into the most antient *Eastern* Creeds, against the Heresy of the *Gnosticks*. Hence *Irenæus*, in his Rule of Faith, says expressly, *The Maker of Heaven and Earth*. In the Article concerning the Church, the Word [*Catholick*] was wanting in the Creeds of *Rome* and *Aquileia* in *Ruffinus*'s days : for he does not explain it in that of *Aquileia*, nor observe that it was mention'd in that of *Rome*. Indeed the *Pammelian* Edition has it, but contrary to the Faith of the most antient Copies. What I shall observe next, may perhaps seem trivial, though indeed of very great Importance. The Article concerning the Belief of the Life Everlasting (which, as we have seen, was in the *Eastern* Creed long before) was not in the Creeds of *Rome* and *Aquileia* till the times of *Ruffinus* ; and afterwards, as (a) *Vossius* hath plainly proved. See also the Notes of the (b) Bishop of *Oxford*, *B. M.* upon the Synodical Epistle of *St. Cyprian*. But this Article was in the *African* Creed in *St. Cyprian*'s time, as we have proved before.

19. I said that most, not all the Additions of the *Eastern* Churches, were received by the Church of *Rome* into her Rule of Faith. For those things which seemed to abound in the *Eastern* Creed, or to be advanced against Heresies, scarce known in the *Western* Parts, the Church of *Rome* affecting Brevity, omitted in her Confession. So in the first Article, concerning God the Father, she received, though not very soon, those Words [*Maker of Heaven and Earth*,] but not those following [*and of all things visible and invisible ;*] because she thought them contain'd in the former. Besides, the People of *Rome* had scarce heard of those Monsters, who assigned the visible and invisible things to different Authors. In the same, and the following

(a) De tribus Symbolis, Diff. 1. *Thef.* 43. (b) P. 190.

Article, the *Roman Church*, as *Ruffinus* tells us, omitted the Word [One] in *One God*, &c. and in *One Lord Jesus*, which all the *Eastern Churches* had in their Creeds; because they knew little of those blasphemous Creatures who denied One God the Father, the Creator, or One Jesus Christ. Again, in the second Article, after the Words [*the Only-begotten Son of God*,] the Church of *Rome* hath not added what immediately follows in the *Eastern Creed*, [*begotten of the Father before all Ages*,] because they were in the Catechism instructed, and understood the latter Words to be virtually contain'd in the former. So those Words are wanting in the *Roman Creed*, which in the *Eastern* immediately follow in the seventh Article, concerning the Coming of Christ to judge the Quick and the Dead, namely, [*whose Kingdom shall have no end*,] because no Man at *Rome* had dreamt of *Cerintus's* Maggot. The eighth Article of the *Roman Creed* is without any Explication or Addition, just as we have it in the first and most simple Form [*I believe in the Holy Spirit*] which I have formerly much admired. For, as we have observ'd in the Articles concerning God the Father and the Son, the Church of *Rome* has borrowed some things from the *Eastern Creeds* to add to her own. Nay, further, after the Article concerning the Holy Spirit, she has added, in imitation of the *Eastern Churches*, certain Articles, namely, concerning the Church, the Remission of Sins, &c. Why, then, has she given us no Explication of the Article concerning the Holy Spirit? Why has she not imitated the *Eastern Churches*, and added [*Paraclete, who spoke by the Prophets*]? If indeed this Omission was designed, we may say, as before, that those Words were therefore omitted in the *Roman Creed*, because they struck at an Heresy which gave that Church no disturbance. Nor was there occasion of any Addition here, because, except that Heresy of the *Gnosticks* (which was not so much directed against the Holy Spirit, as the Law and the Prophets) there never arose any other,
that

that did professedly and openly attempt the Dignity of the Holy Spirit before *Macedonius*, against whose Blasphemy the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers made sufficient provision. *Arius*, indeed, by denying the Son's Divinity, has by consequence more strongly denied the Divine Majesty of the Holy Spirit. For the Heretick could not be so stupid, as to prefer the Holy Spirit before the Son of God (upon which account (a) *Epiphanius*, (b) *Ambrose*, and (c) *Austin*, accuse him of making the Holy Spirit the Creature of a Creature); but this was not his Aim, which also is a Reason why the Council of *Nice* hath defined nothing against him concerning the Holy Spirit. The Anti-Trinitarians, indeed, have in every Age chose to attack the Divinity of the Son first, taking occasion from many places of Scripture, which relate to his Incarnation, and what he undertook for our Salvation, (neglecting, or rather refusing, very many places of the same Scripture, which plainly speak his Divinity) a Pretence they could not have in opposing the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; and therefore were content indirectly, and by consequence, to make this Point. However, this is observable, that some of the antient *Latin* Doctors, in expounding the Article of their Creed concerning the Holy Spirit, have had an eye to that Addition of the Orientals. Thus *Novatian*, *Cyprian's* Contemporary, and Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, in his Rule of Faith, or, as we now call it, his Book of the Trinity, has these Words upon the Article concerning the Holy Spirit: (d) *But our Lord Christ sometimes calls this Spirit the Paraclete, sometimes pronounces him the Spirit of Truth, which is not new under the Gospel, nor newly given. For this very [Spirit] accused the People by the Prophets, and accomplish'd the calling of the Gentiles by the Apostles. And a little after, It is then one and the same Spirit, which was in the Prophets and the Apostles, &c.*

(a) Hæres. 69. n. 52, & 56. (b) Ambr. de Symbol. cap. 2.
(c) De Hæres. cap. 69. (d) P. 727.

Here we have the Sense and Meaning of the Words [*the Paraclete, who spake by the Prophets*] clearly explain'd, namely this, that there was not one Spirit under the Old Testament, and another under the New; not one of the Prophets, and another of the Apostles: but that one and the same Spirit which inspir'd the Apostles, spoke also by the antient Prophets, contrary to what the aforesaid Hereticks taught. In like manner *Ruffinus*, in his Exposition of the Creed, after he had observ'd that the Divinity of the Holy Spirit was hinted, by the way of expressing it, [*I believe in the Holy Spirit*] not [*I believe the Holy Spirit*] immediately adds, *It was therefore the Holy Spirit, who, under the Old Testament, inspired the Law and the Prophets; and, under the New, the Gospel and the Apostles.* Lastly, The tenth Article of the *Roman Creed*, of the Remission of Sins, is plainly nothing but a piece of an Article, express'd more fully in the old *Eastern Creed*, thus: *I believe in one Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins; or, as the Constantinopolitan Fathers give it us, I confess one Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins.* Now the *Romans* seem to me to have omitted the former Part of this Article, because under no Apprehensions from the *Gnostick* Heresy concerning that Sacrament, which I mention'd before. But notwithstanding that in all the preceding Observations, the *Roman Creed* is more contracted than the *Eastern*, yet it is now, by two entire Articles, more large than it; namely, in these, concerning the Descent of Christ into Hell, and the Communion of Saints. Learned Men (a), indeed, have, some time since, observ'd, that these Articles were not antiently in the *Roman Creed*. Thus you have my Reasons for believing the *Eastern Creed*, explained by *Cyril*, more antient than the *Roman*, called the *Apostles*; and the one, the *Roman*, compil'd and deriv'd from the other, the *Eastern*.

(a) See *Vossius de tribus Symbolis, Dissert. 1. Thes. 34. and the Notes upon the 70th Epistle of St. Cyprian, p. 190. Ed. Oxon.*

20. I will add one Observation more, and so conclude this long Dissertation concerning the antient Creeds. It is to be observ'd, then, that the *Arians* themselves, in their Confessions of Faith, cited before in this Chapter, have given us the Article concerning the Son of God, almost after the same manner as it is in the *Jerusalem Creed*. For thus their first Confession has it. (a) *And in one Only-begotten Son of God, who existed before all Ages, and was with the Father that begat him, by whom all things were made.* Thus, again, another Confession, immediately following the former: *And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his Only-begotten Son, God, by whom are all things, God, begotten of his Father before Ages.* Thus *Theophronius's* Confession: *And in one Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, begotten, perfect God of the Father before Ages.* Where perfect God is, no doubt, equivalent to true God in the *Jerusalem Creed*. So the Confession of the same [*Arians*] sent by *Narcissus*, and others, into *France*, to be deliver'd to *Constans*: *And in his Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten God of the Father before all Ages, by whom all things were made.* Thus almost all their Confessions, which follow in *Athanasius*, give us the Article. Now they say, that in these Confessions, they have religiously observ'd the Rule of Faith deliver'd down from the Beginning. Thus in the Preface to their first Confession, *We have not received any other Faith, than that which was deliver'd from the Beginning*: Thus they begin the Confession, *We have learnt from the Beginning to believe, &c.* Thus also another of their Confessions, *We believe agreeable to Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition.* From this we again conclude, that the special Mode of the Filiation of Jesus Christ, concerning which *Episcopus* disputes, namely, that by which he, in his more excellent Nature, was begotten God of God the Father before all Ages, by whom all things were made, was plainly declar'd

(a) *Athanasius. Pars 2. Tom. i. p. 735, &c.*

in the Creed, or Creeds, extant in the *Eastern Churches* before the Council of *Nice*, just as we have found it in the Creed of the Church of *Jerusalem*, the most antient of all the Churches of the *East*. For the *Arians* were *Oriental*s, who set forth those Confessions; and that, as they profess, according to the Rule of Faith receiv'd in their Churches from the Beginning.

21. Hence it also appears, that those *Arians* were self-condemn'd: For in confessing that the Son of God was begotten of God before all Ages, that he was true or perfect God, and that the Creatures were made by him, they have confuted their own Opinion. What sober Man will believe that nothing else is meant by this Confession, than that the Son of God was a mere Creature, made of nothing, though before all other Creatures, which was the *Arian* Tenet? How was he before all Ages, who only receiv'd the beginning of Existence, in the beginning of the Creation, in the first Moment of the first Age? How could he be God, true and perfect God, and create all things of nothing, who himself was a mere Creature? For, as (a) *Athanasius* has well observ'd, *It is not possible that the things made, and he that made them, should have one Generation*. Lastly, How could he be begotten of God, who was made of nothing? Upon this account, the great (b) *Athanasius* sharply reproves the *Arians*, from their own Confessions; *Even you have wrote, that the Son is begotten of the Father. If then when you name the Father, or God, you don't mean the Essence, or he that is, according to his Essence; but something, I can't tell what, about him, or inferior to him: you should not write that the Son is from the Father, but from something circumstantial to, or inherent in him; that so avoiding the calling him truly God the Father, and conceiving him that is simple, to be compound and corporeal, ye might be the Inventers of a new Blasphemy*. And a little after, (c) *Ye have said that*

(a) Tom. 1. pars 2. p. 751.

(b) P. 750.

(c) Ibidem.

the Son is of God, namely, ye have said that he is of the Essence of the Father. Moreover, granting that the Words of the antient Creed will bear the *Arian* Sense, it is certain the primitive Church, which used that Creed, understood them in another more noble Sense. For the Catholick Doctors before *Arius*, how uncautiously or obscurely soever some of them have sometimes spoken upon this Question concerning our Lord's Divinity, yet all of them, with one consent, have confess'd the Son of God to be begotten of God the Father, so as to be born of his very Essence, and to be really God, as we have proved throughout the whole second Section of our *Defence of the Nicene Creed*. In vain then did the *Arians* boast, that they had not in the least receded from the antient Rule of Faith, since they only held the Words of that Rule, not the true primitive Sense of it.

22. Lastly, It is hence manifest, that the Synod of *Nice* did well, did necessarily advance the Clause of the *Consubstantiality*, against those impious Comments of the *Arians*, and for the asserting the true and genuine Sense of that Article of the old Creed, concerning the Son of God. Instead of what stood in the old Creed [*The Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, true God, by whom all things were made,*] the *Nicene Fathers* have given us, *The Only-begotten, begotten of the Father, that is, of the Father's Essence; God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten, not made, of one Substance with the Father, by whom all things were made.* Where we see the Words of the old Creed after [*Only-begotten*] namely [*begotten of the Father before all Ages*] left out, to make way for the Clause of the *Consubstantiality*. But the *Constantinopolitan Fathers* retain'd those Words, adding what was sufficient concerning the *Consubstantiality* out of the *Nicene Creed*, thus: [*The Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Ages, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all*

things were made.] Now it is plain, nothing was here added to the old *Eastern Creed*, which was not virtually in it before. For he who was begotten of God the Father before all Ages, was true God; and he by whom all things were made, can't but be consubstantial, that is, of the same Nature or Essence with the Father; (which is all the Fathers intended by the Word) and thus all Catholicks always understood the Words of the old Creed, before the *Arian Controversy* arose.

23. To draw the whole matter into a short compass: Since it is agreed between the *Catholicks* and *Arians*, that all are oblig'd, by the primitive Rule of Faith, to believe in the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of God the Father before all Ages, true, or (as the *Arians* would rather speak) perfect God, by whom all things were made; the Question is only this, Whether side hath interpreted this Rule better, more agreeably to the obvious Sense of the Words, and the receiv'd Meaning of the Church; the *Arians*, who have taught that the Son of God is nothing else but the first Creature, made of nothing by God, (for after all their colours, this is their real Sentiment;) or the *Catholicks*, who believ'd him to be very God, of the same Nature or Essence with God the Father? Sure there is no room for a Doubt, since it is very clear, that the *Catholicks* only have kept to the genuine Sense of this Rule, and the *Arians* have departed from it, and consequently left the Rule itself as much as possible. * Every one then may easily determine concerning

* The case is very clear with respect to the *Arians*. They have defin'd the Son of God to be the chief of all Creatures, and made of nothing. The *Semi-Arians* also, who taught that the Word was born of the Father, and therefore of a like Nature; but not begotten of the Substance of God the Father, and of the same Nature, went off as well from the proper Signification of the Words in their own, and in the *Catholick Creeds*, as from the antient Sense of the Fathers. For as *Athanasius* observes, that which is naturally begotten of any one, and not acquir'd from without, Nature owns as a Son, and that is the very

cerning the *Theodotians, Artemonites, Samosatzenians, Photinians*, and the Monsters of our own Age, the *Socinians*, (in the Defence of whose Cause *Episcopus* hath neither been afraid nor asham'd to appear.)

Having thus discover'd, and accurately examin'd the Creeds which were in the Church before the Council of *Nice*, it is now sufficiently clear how vainly *Episcopus* attempted to prove, *That in the primitive Churches, from the times of the Apostles, for three entire Centuries at least, that special Mode of Jesus Christ's Filiation, by which he was begotten of God the Father before all Ages, and consequently was himself God, was not judg'd necessary to be known and believ'd in order to Salvation.* We have certainly proved the contrary Assertion from the same Creeds. Let us proceed now, by the Assistance of Christ our Saviour, and our God, to dispatch what remains.



Notes upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters.

Concerning the first Draughts of a Confession of Faith made in Baptism; of the Filling up, and Finishings of it, in the Age, and by the Authority or Permission of the Apostles.

I Am sensible my Attempt to prove the first Elements of the Apostles Creed, the Additions afterwards made, and the finishing of it, to have been compass'd in the time of the Apostles, and by their Advice or

very Meaning of the Word. Hence, if the Semi-Arians had meant that the Word of God was indeed begotten of the Father, and was properly a Son, they would have confess'd that he was born of the very Substance of the Father, and coessential with him. Thus most of the holy Ante-Nicene Fathers have in Sense taught, and some of them in express Words. See Sect. 2. of the Defence of the Nicene Creed. [Dr. Grabe's Note.]

Permission, is a Matter of great Moment, grown obscure by Age, and made more so by the novel Comments of many. The Assertion of *Episcopi* we may well place in this Class, that the most antient Creed, and that used in the first Administration of Baptism, was, *I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost* (a). To this the Reverend *Bull* has expressly answer'd, (b) *That that was never taken for a full and perfect Creed, expressly comprehending in it all the necessary Articles of Faith.* This he has also learnedly prov'd, (c) that the *Western*, as well as the *Eastern*, Church, used a more large and explicit Creed in the Sacrament of Baptism before the Synod of *Nice*, than that mention'd by *Episcopi*: *I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* In particular, he hath (d) demonstrated, that the Creed of both the Churches before the Synod of *Nice*, did not end in the Article [*I believe in the Holy Ghost*] but that those other Articles concerning the Church, the Remission of Sins, the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life of the World to come, had then been a long time added. But what if from an accurate Consideration of Holy Scriptures, and just Consequences from them, it should appear, (1.) That the first Lines of the Creed used by the Apostles, in the most antient Administration of Baptism, were larger than *Episcopi*'s, *I believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*? (2.) That that Creed soon receiv'd such Additions, as that in the Apostles time, and by their Authority, or at least Permission, it grew to be as large as the Creed called the *Apostles*, and had in it all the Articles of that except two, namely, those concerning the Descent into Hell, and the Communion of Saints.

2. In order to prove both these Propositions, with what Brevity and Clearness the subject Matter of them will allow, I premise two Things: That the first Christians, whether of the *Jews*, or of the *Gen-*

(a) Chap. 4. Sect. 1. (b) Sect. 3. (c) Chap. 6. (d) Sect. 7.
tiles.

tiles, observ'd that, in the solemn Profession of their Faith before Baptism, either by their own Inclination, or the Command of the Apostles, which Reason dictates, and the Use of all Times confirms to have been observ'd by all who came over from one Sect to another; namely, to confess the Truth of the Articles, call'd Fundamental, of that Church to which they came over, directly opposite to the Errors of that Sect they left. (2.) That the same Primitive Believers, before they received the Sacraments, did testify their Assent to those Heads of Christian Doctrine in which they had been catechiz'd: For those Heads were not only deliver'd to them, that they should embrace them with their Heart, but also profess them with their Tongue. Thus the (a) *Apostle*, after he hath mention'd the Word of Faith, adds, that, *If you confess the Lord Jesus with the Mouth, and believe in the Heart that God rais'd him from the dead, you shall be sav'd: For with the Heart we believe unto Righteousness, and with the Tongue Confession is made to Salvation.* But if any Defender of *Episcopius*, or other Person whatsoever, shall deny me these Suppositions, I know not how he will be able to persuade himself, or any others, that the Confession of Faith, *I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, or any other, was made by the first Disciples of the Apostles. Omitting therefore any further Proof of these Premises, I proceed to prove what I build upon them.

3. As for the first Article, *I believe in God the Father*, that it was enlarg'd from the very first Conversion of the *Pagans*, by these, or the like Words, [*One, Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth*] I thus prove by virtue of the Premises: The chief Error of the Heathen, at least the promiscuous Multitude, was a Persuasion that there were many Gods; one of the Heaven, another of the Earth, a third of the Sea, &c. and the vain Adoration of them. Hence the (b) *Apostle*: *Then*

(a) Rom. 10. 8, 9, 10.

(b) Gal. 4. 8.

indeed not knowing God, ye serv'd those who are not Gods by Nature. On the other hand, the primary Article of the Christian Faith is concerning the one true God, on whom all things in Heaven, in Earth, and the Sea depend, and of whom (c) St. Paul's Words are worthy our Notice and Consideration: *Tho there be that are call'd Gods, both in Heaven and in Earth (among the Heathen) for there are Gods many, and Lords many; yet to us (Christians) there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* Upon this account, the (d) Apostle, in his first Sermons, preach'd to them the one true God Almighty, warning them to be converted from these vain Idols to the Living God, as we have it concerning Paul and Barnabas. In like manner, St. Paul declar'd the unknown God to the same Athenians, saying, (e) *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him we preach to you: God who made the World, and all things in it, being Lord of Heaven and Earth, &c.* Who can doubt then, but that the Confession of one Almighty God was chiefly requir'd of the Heathen Profelytes? You'll say that the Heathens believ'd one supreme God, upon whom all things depended, and therefore there was no occasion that they should be instructed in it by the Christians, or confess it. I answer, it is very true of the Philosophers, and more learned Men among them; but for the meaner sort, that most of them knew not that there was one true God, and that he was Almighty, the Words of the Apostle to the Galatians aforecited fully prove. Now since most of the new Heathen Converts were of the meaner sort, and ignorant in (f) Philosophy, it was necessary they should be taught the Knowledge of the One Almighty God, and that they should confess it before Baptism. But the more learned Heathens also, tho they determin'd

(c) 1 Cor. 8. 6. (d) Acts 17. 23. (e) Acts 17. 23.

(f) 1 Cor. 1. 26, 27.

that there was one God, yet were ignorant, or rather obstinately deny'd that he made the Heavens, the Earth, the Seas, and all things therein out of nothing. Upon which account the Apostles, in their Instruction of the *Gentiles*, when they mention the one God, immediately add, that he created the Heaven, the Earth, and the Sea, as is plain from the aforecited Sermon of St. Paul to the *Athenians*; and also from another (g) Place, where, after these Words [*the Living God*] he adds, *who made the Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is.* Thus in the end of the World, when the Fulness of the *Gentiles* shall be brought over to the true God, the Angel, who hath the eternal Gospel to preach to all that dwell upon the Earth, every Nation, Tribe, Tongue, and People, will say, (h) *Fear the Lord and adore him, who made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea and the Fountains of Waters.* The *Gentiles* therefore being solemnly to repeat their Creed, were especially to profess in it, that they believ'd in *one God Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth*; whom they had hitherto not known, or deny'd, but were now taught by the Christians.

4. I can't therefore subscribe to the Opinion of certain Learned Men, who think the Words aforesaid were added to the Creed in the second Century, against the *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, and other *Gnosticks*, because they deny'd the Unity of God, and the supreme Omnipotence of the Creator of the World; as is clear from *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others who wrote against them. For it is no less clear from the same Authors, that they urg'd that very Confession of one God the Creator, in the Creed, as receiv'd from the Apostles themselves. Thus (i) *Irenæus*, after he had mention'd the unmoveable Rule of Faith which every one receives in Baptism, he subjoins it with this Preface: (k) *For the Church, tho dispers'd through the whole World, even to the Ends of the Earth, having received from*

(g) Acts 14. 14. (h) Apocal. 14. 6, 7. (i) Lib. I. cap. 1. p. 40.

(k) Cap. 2. p. 50.

the Apostles, and their Disciples, the Faith in one God the Father Almighty, who hath made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all that in them is. And (l) afterwards, Since then we hold the Rule of Truth, that there is one God Almighty, who made all things by his Word. Again, he mentions the old Tradition (m), and reciting it briefly, says: *They believe in one God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things therein* (n). Lastly, he says (o): *The entire Faith is in one God Almighty, of whom are all things, [by Creation.]* In like manner (p) Tertullian: *That is the Rule of Faith, by which we believe that there is only one God, and that he is no other than the Maker of the World.* Again, reciting the Creed, he says (q): *In one only God Almighty, Maker of the World.* Now he expressly writes (r), that *this Rule has come down to us from the beginning of the Gospel.* From these and many other Testimonies of the Antients, which I omit for brevity sake, it is plain, that they oppos'd the Confession of one God the Creator to the Hereticks, as what was deliver'd, in the beginning of the Gospel, by the Apostles themselves. But they had dealt deceitfully and very absurdly, they had expos'd themselves to the Hatred and Derision of the Hereticks, if they had attempted to confute them by a Clause of the Creed lately advanc'd by the Bishops their Adversaries, and had pretended it to be an Apostolical Tradition. Therefore it was not oppos'd to the Doctrine of the Hereticks by the Bishops, but to the Error of the Heathens by the Apostles, and by them made an Article of the Creed.

5. In the second Article of the Creed, *Episcopus* hath falsly asserted, that there was only mention of the Title [Son;] for the Names *Jesus Christ* are expressly read in the *Confession of Candace's Eunuch, Queen of Æthiopia* (s): *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* But neither is this to be esteem'd a compleat

(l) Cap. 19. p. 114. (m) Lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 242. (n) Lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 158. (o) Lib. 4. cap. 62. p. 399. (p) Terr. p. 206. (q) P. 173. (r) P. 501. (s) Acts 8. 37.

Profession of Faith concerning the Son of God. For it will be no good Conclusion that the Eunuch said no more, because St. Luke has not told us that he did ; especially when it appears from other Places of the (t) *Acts*, that Luke sometimes abridg'd the Speeches of others. So in the History of St. Paul's Conversion we only read these Words of Ananias to him ; *Brother Saul, the Lord who appear'd to thee in the way, as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou shouldst receive thy sight, and be fill'd with the Holy Ghost.* But the Apostle himself, afterwards, gives us these additional Words of Ananias : (u) *The God of our Fathers hath preordain'd thee, that thou shouldst know his Will, and see the just one, and hear the Word of his Mouth ; for thou shalt be his Witness to all Men of those things thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest thou ? Arise, and be baptiz'd, and wash away thy Sins, calling upon him.* Who can doubt whether the Eunuch testify'd his Assent to those things which Philip had preach'd concerning the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ, upon the Words of *Isaiah* ; *He was led as a Sheep to the Slaughter ?* Thus it is also a Consequence of our Hypothesis, that others, before Baptism, made a Profession of the Articles mention'd, in which they had been instructed before. For, (i.) it is clear that the (x) *Apostles* preach'd the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus to the *Jews*, as well as the *Gentiles*. Whence Paul said to *Agrippa*, that he testify'd to Small and Great, that Christ should suffer, and should, first rising from the dead, shew Light to the People and the *Gentiles*. The Words of the same (y) St. Paul are very observable, where he says, *I have deliver'd to you principally what I also receiv'd, that Christ died for our Sins according to the Scripture, and that he was bury'd, and that he rose again the third Day according to the Scriptures.* These are three Members of the Article concerning Christ, express'd in the same order as in the Apostles Creed, which the

(t) *Acts* 9. 17. (u) *Acts* 22. 14. (x) *Acts* 2. 22, &c. 3. 13, &c. 10. 36, &c. 13. 27, &c. 26. 22, 23. (y) *1 Cor.* 15. 3, 4.

Apostle says he deliver'd as principal Heads of Faith to the *Corinthians*. And no wonder, for the *Jews* obstinately deny'd the Death and Passion of Christ, or the *Messiah*, and the Resurrection of Jesus: The *Gentiles* ridicul'd both. Whence the Apostle writes to the same *Persons* thus: (2) *We preach Christ crucify'd, to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks Foolishness; but to them that are call'd, Jews and Greeks, Christ the Power and Wisdom of God.* By virtue then of our other Supposition, both of them, before their Baptism, did profess the chief Articles of the Faith, which were rejected on both sides, either by their own Inclination, or upon the Apostles Command.

6. What follows after the Resurrection of Christ, his Ascension into Heaven, his sitting at the right Hand of God the Father, and his return to judge the Quick and the Dead, were without doubt deny'd by, or unknown to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Hereupon, when our Saviour spoke of eating his Flesh, and drinking his Blood, and his Disciples murmur'd at it, he said to them; *Doth this offend you? What if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend where he was before (a)?* As tho his Ascension should yet seem more absurd to them, than the Mystery of eating his Flesh, and drinking his Blood. And indeed when our Lord had said before the High Priest, (b) *Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right Hand of Power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven; the High Priest rent his Clothes, saying, he hath blasphemed, what need have we of further Witnesses? Behold now ye have heard his Blasphemies, what think ye? And they answering, said, he is guilty of Death.* Hence St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles and Priests of the New Testament, in his Catechetical Discourses, as well to the *Jews* as the *Gentiles*, made mention of the Ascension of Christ into Heaven, or his Exaltation to the right Hand of God, to rule over all things, and to

(2) 1 Cor. I. 23, 24.
64, 65, 66.

(a) Joh. 6. 61, 62.

(b) Mat. 26.

pass Judgment in the end upon the *Living* and the *Dead*. (c) He testifies also, in his Discourse to *Cornelius*, that he does this by the Command of *Christ*: *And he hath commanded us to preach to the People, and to testify that he is appointed by God the Judge of Quick and Dead*. Upon our Suppositions, we may again conclude from these things, that the *Jews* and *Gentiles* lately converted, and to be baptiz'd, did make a just Confession of these Articles also.

7. I am therefore forc'd to disagree with a late Learned Writer upon the History of the Apostles Creed, who thinks the Article concerning the Ascension of *Christ* was added to this Creed in the second Century, against *Apelles* the Disciple of *Marcion*, of whom the Author of the Appendix to *Tertullian's* Book of Prescription, &c. writes thus: (d) *He neither says that Christ was only a Phantom, as Marcion; nor in the Substance of a true Body, as the Gospel teaches: but that when he descended from the higher Regions, in the very Descent that he made himself a heavenly and aerial Body, and that in his Resurrection and Ascent, he restor'd to all the several Elements, what in his Descent he had borrow'd of them; and so all the Parts of his Body being dispers'd, he only brought the Spirit again into Heaven*. For from these Words, and those of other Fathers, concerning *Apelles*, it is plain he did not absolutely deny the Ascension of *Christ*, but of *Christ's* Flesh into Heaven. If then the Fathers had advanc'd this Article against that Error, they would not barely have said, He ascended into Heaven; but they would have affirm'd the Assumption of his Flesh into Heaven, as (e) *Irenæus* doth, having very probably this Heresy of *Apelles* in his mind, tho he doth not mention it. Thus, if this Article had been levell'd at the Maggot of *Hermogenes*, that the Body of our Lord was lodg'd in the Sun, *Christ* would have been said to have ascended with his Body above all Heavens, above every Star. By a

(c) Acts 2. 33, &c. 3. 20, 21. 10. 42. (d) P. 223.

(e) P. 50. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Parity of Reason in those Articles concerning his Session at the right Hand of God, and his coming to judge the Quick and the Dead, if one of them had been oppos'd to those who said that our Saviour's Flesh sat in Heaven void of Sense, and like an empty Scabbard, the Christ being *drawn out* (f); or the other had been advanc'd partly against the Heresy of the *Marcionites*, who deny'd that God the Father of Christ was just, or a Judge; partly against the *Gnosticks*, who took away Free-will, as the Learned Person afore-cited thinks; both of them would have been conceiv'd, if not in more Words, in such as should have been more direct to the Points. But now, that the Authors of the Creed have taught the Catechumens to profess that Jesus Christ the Son of God *ascended into Heaven, sits at the right Hand of God the Father, and shall come from thence to judge the Quick and the Dead*, in plain general Terms; we must think that they intended this Confession for those who as yet deny'd, or were absolutely ignorant of these things; namely, the *Jews* and *Gentiles* converted to the Faith.

8. What shall we say to the Articles which precede the *Passion, Death, Resurrection, &c.* namely, the *Conception of Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit*, and his *Nativity of the Virgin Mary*? Did the *Jews* and *Gentiles* from the Beginning own these before Baptism? Indeed I'm in some doubt about this, in the very beginnings of Christianity; because there is no mention of the Conception by Power of the Holy Spirit, without Human Seed, or the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in any Catechetical Discourse in the *Acts*; nor do we read any where, that the Apostles preach'd them to the *Jews* or *Gentiles*, or that they were disputed against by the one or the other, as is plain, concerning the Resurrection. We may well suppose, then, that the Publication of this Mystery was reserv'd to a more full Exposition of the Gospel after Baptism; because it seem'd

(f) Tertull. p. 325. de carne Christi,

plainly impossible to all universally, *Israelites*, and others, that a Virgin should bring forth without a Man (a), or because a Knowledge of the supernatural Conception and Nativity of Christ was not so necessary, as the Belief of his Passion and Resurrection. Hence there is not only nothing said of the former, in any Discourses of the Apostles, as I said before, but it is also omitted in some of the Gospels. St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* indeed largely describe it; St. *Mark* (to say nothing of St. *John*) has not a word about it: but all of them have expressly enlarg'd upon the latter, and afterwards none of the four Evangelists have omitted to give a long Account of it. Now there is no doubt, but that not long after the Foundations of Christianity were laid, and especially after the Gospels were publish'd, both *Jews* and *Gentiles* began to oppose the wonderful Birth and Conception of our Lord, and thence an occasion was given, and a necessity impos'd upon the Converts of both to confess his immaculate Conception and Nativity, as well as the other Articles of Faith. I cannot therefore think the opinion of those Learned Men probable, who pretend those things, of which I have hitherto discoursed, were added to the Creed against the Heresy of *Carpocrates*, *Cerintus*, and the *Ebionites*, (who impiously asserted that Christ was begotten of *Joseph* and *Mary*.) Tho' supposing, but not granting this, it may still be, that the said Additions to the Creed, are owing to Apostolical Authority, or Permission at least; for that execrable Heresy had then its hellish Rise, when St. *John*, and perhaps others of the Apostles were yet alive. (b)

9. I proceed to the third Branch of the Apostles Creed concerning the Holy Spirit, in whom (as *Episcopus* himself well affirms) the Disciples of the Apostles testified their belief in Baptism; but others falsely deny it, thinking the Knowledge and Profession

(a) See the Passage of Justin in his Dialogue with Trypho, cited Ch. 7. Sect. 4. hereafter.

(b) See Irenæus, Lib. 3. Cap. 3. pag. 233.

of Jesus Christ the Son of God to be only necessary. The *History* of the (a) *Acts* is a sufficient Confutation of these Men. But then what is to be said for the following Articles of the Creed? Let us consider them particularly, beginning with the Remission of Sins; for the Article of the *Church* in the most ancient Creeds, or at least in the Creeds of many Churches, is not placed immediately after that of the Holy Spirit, but in a lower, and sometimes in the last place, as is plain from our Learned Author's Observations in this very Chapter. Now both *Peter* and *Paul* did expressly teach the *Jews* and *Gentiles* in their first Instructions, that Remission of Sins was obtain'd by Christ, and given to the Faithful by Baptism into his Name. St. *Peter* (b) in his first Sermon at *Jerusalem*, says, *Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of the Lord Jesus, for the Remission of Sins.* (From hence, by the way, the Article of the antient *Hierosolymitan* Creed seems to be form'd, *I believe in one Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins.*) He also concludes his first Discourse to the *Gentiles* with this Doctrine, saying, (c) *To him [Christ] give all the Prophets witness, that all who believe in him shall receive Remission of Sins by his Name.* Thus (d) St. *Paul*: *Be it known to you Men and Brethren, that by him is preach'd unto you Remission of Sins, and that every one who believes is by him justified from all things, from which he could not be justified by the Law of Moses.* Nor is it to be admir'd, for our Saviour himself after his Resurrection told his Apostles, *That Repentance and Remission of Sins must be preach'd to all Nations in his Name, beginning at Jerusalem, &c.* (e) Therefore as the Apostles and their Successors delivered this Sum of the Gospel, and the advantage of the whole Dispensation of the Son of God expounded in the preceding Words of the Creed, in their Catechetical Discourses; so on the other hand there is no

(a) Chap. 19. 2.

(b) Acts 2. 38.

(c) Acts 10. 43.

(d) Acts 13. 38, 39.

(e) Luke 24. 27.

doubt but that the Catechumens profess'd the same in their Creed before Baptism. That some did now and then profess this, in the very Beginnings of Christianity, the above cited Author of the History of the Apostles Creed confesses; but then he determines, that the constant mention of Remission of Sins in the Confession of Faith only obtain'd in the days of St. Cyprian, upon the account of Hereticks, especially the *Novatians*, who deny'd that the Church had a power of forgiving Sins committed after Baptism. Now this Conjecture can't be allow'd, because in the *Novatian* Creed this Article of Remission of Sins was expressly mention'd, as St. Cyprian (x) testifies in these words: *But if any one shall answer, that Novatian observ'd the same Rule with the Catholicks, namely, to baptize with the same Creed as we; let him know, whosoever he is, that we and the Schismaticks have not the same Rule of Faith, nor the same Interrogatory. For when they say, Dost thou believe the Remission of Sins, and the Life everlasting, by the Holy Church? they are wrong in their Interrogatory, because they have no Church, &c.* But besides, it is not probable that the *Novatians* would place, or retain in their Confession of Faith, the *Remission of Sins by the Holy Church, unless they had seen the same receiv'd into the Creeds of all other Churches.* Lastly, if the Profession of Remission of Sins, not used before in some Churches, had been at length inserted into their Creed against the *Novatian* Rigour, either mention would have been made of Sins committed after Baptism, or some such Phrase would have been used. But, on the other hand, we read in all of them either Remission of Sins in general, or one Baptism of Repentance, or one Baptism for Remission of Sins; the former of which doth not at all contradict the *Novatian* Heresy, and the latter may seem to favour it. What the learned Man objects, that no mention is made of Remission of Sins in the Accounts given of

(x) See this Place cited before.

the Creed by *Tertullian* and *Origen*, may be thus briefly answer'd, That the Hereticks, to whom they oppos'd the Apostolical Rule of Faith, did not deny the Remission of Sins, were not known by them to deny it, and that therefore they had no occasion to mention this Article. However, our Reverend Author has ingenuously shewn, that both *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian* alluded to it in their Writings (y).

10. The Learned Author of the History of the Apostles Creed (z), thinks the Resurrection of the Dead was inserted from the very Beginnings of Christianity. This I doubt of a little, because the Catechetical Discourses of St. Peter (a) and St. Paul conclude with the Remission of Sins, nor does the latter mention the Resurrection of the Dead in his Sermon to the Athenians (b), but only the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead; tho indeed his Auditors seem from that to infer the universal Resurrection of the Dead. For it is said, *When they heard of the Resurrection from the Dead, some of them derided it, but others said, Let us hear thee concerning this Matter again.* From these words we are to take our Explication of what is said of St. Paul, ver. 18. *That he preach'd to them Jesus and the Resurrection, that is, the Resurrection of Jesus, or begun in Jesus*; as it is also written of the other Apostles, (c) *And with great Power the Apostles gave Testimony of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus.* Further, when some arose among the (d) *Corinthians*, who said there was no Resurrection of the Dead, the Apostle puts them in mind of what he had preach'd there, says that he had first of all deliver'd to them the Death and Resurrection of Christ, and from that proves the Resurrection of all the Faithful; but he no where hints that he had taught them this Article before, but they had rejected it. Thus he writes to the (e) *Thessalonians*: *We would not, Brethren, that you should be ignorant concerning*

(y) In this 6 Ch. S. 7. & 13. (z) P. 390. (a) Acts 2. 10, 13.

(b) Acts 17. 31, 32. (c) Acts 4. 39. (d) 1 Cor. 15. 12.

(e) 1 Thess. 4. 13.

those that sleep, lest you should be troubled, as others, who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus is dead and risen again, so also those that sleep in Jesus shall God bring with him.

This he speaks as tho they had hitherto been ignorant of it, so that it became necessary to give them this Corollary from the Resurrection of Jesus, which they had before heard. The words of St. Luke also concerning the Preaching of St. Paul to the *Thessalonians*, are worthy Observation: (f) *He discoursed to them out of the Scripture three Sabbath-days, opening and alledging that Christ was to suffer, and to rise from the Dead, and that this is Christ Jesus, whom I preach unto you.* Here is mention of the Resurrection of Christ, but not of that of all the Faithful: St. Paul then doth not seem to have given the Catechumens the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead soon after their Entrance to Christianity among the first Rudiments of it: But yet I assure myself, he gave it them as an Appendix to the other Articles, as soon as he found it opposed and disputed. Hence, I suppose, the Apostle (g) mentions *the Resurrection of the Dead, and the eternal Judgment*, among the Fundamentals of Christianity, but yet puts them in the last place, distinct from Faith in God, and the Doctrine of Baptisms. I conclude also, that the Article concerning eternal Life was then added (at least in some Churches) after that concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, because St. Paul here joins the eternal Judgment with the Resurrection of the Dead.

II. As for the Article concerning the Church, I think it was added and inserted last of all, not only because (h) *Cyprian* gives it us in the *Novatian Creed* in the last place, and it is so read in the Confession of *Arius* and *Euzoius*; but because there is no mention of it in the Catechetical Discourses, and Epistles of the Apostles: so that this Article seems to have been added about the end of the first, or beginning of the

(f) Acts 17. 2, 3.

(g) Heb. 6. 2.

(h) Above cited.

second Century, against the Hereticks and Schismatics, after they began to have separate Meetings from the Orthodox. For in the Times of *Tertullian*, the Faithful did profess the Holy Church in their Creed, as is plain from his first Piece concerning Baptism: *But when an Attestation of Faith, and a Security of Salvation, are pledg'd under three, there must be mention of the Church; for where three, i.e. Father, Son and Holy Ghost, are, there is the Church, which is a Body of three (i).* There needs no words concerning the Communion of Saints; for it is plain there was no mention of it in the Creed before the fourth Century.

12. There is one Article more, which I omitted on purpose, concerning the *Descent of Christ into Hell*. The above cited Author of the History, &c. has given us the genuine Sense of it so learnedly, that more could not have been expected from the most accomplish'd Divine. Near the end of his long *Dissertation*, he gives his Opinion that this Article was inserted against the *Arians* and *Apollinarians*, who deny'd the Soul or Spirit of Christ, and against whom the Holy Fathers argu'd thus: Christ descended into Hell either by his Divinity, his Soul, or his Body; but it is absurd to ascribe this Descent either to his Divinity, or his Body: Therefore we must conclude that he descended by his Soul, and consequently that he had a Soul. But it may be said against this, that Christ is not affirm'd in any Creed to have been in Hell by his Soul, but simply to have descended into Hell, or the lower Places of the Earth; and besides, that this Article is in some Creeds of the *Arians*, and in others more antient than *Apollinaris*. I therefore think it was rather added against the *Valentinians* and *Marcionites*. For they, as (k) *Irenæus* informs us, say, *That as soon as they are dead, they ascend above the Heavens, and the Demiurgus, and go to the Mother, or to*

(i) Compare with this another Passage of *Tertullian* cited in this
6 Ch. Sect. 7. (k) Lib. 5. Cap. 31. p. 491.

him, whom they have feign'd to themselves the Father. A little after: (l) They say this World of ours is Hell, and that their inward Man leaving the Body here, ascends into the supercelestial Place. Tertullian (m) glancing at this Notion, says: *We believe Hell to be, not a mere Void, nor some Sink of this sublunary World, but a vast wide Place in the Trench and Depth of the Earth, and an abstruse Depth in the Bowels of it.* Therefore the Holy Fathers, to prove the Existence of a lower Place under the Earth, and the Descent of the faithful Souls into it, fetch'd an Argument from the Descent of Christ himself into it; concerning which, Irenæus thus speaks in the Place cited: *If these things had been so, as they say, the Lord himself, in whom they profess to believe, had not risen again the third Day, but expiring upon the Cross, had immediately ascended, leaving his Body to the Earth. But now he stay'd three days, where the Dead were, as the Prophet says of him, &c. But the Apostle also says, He ascended; now what is that, but that he also descended into the lower Parts of the Earth? This also David said, prophesying of him, Thou hast deliver'd my Soul from the lower Hell. If then the Lord observ'd the Manner of the Dead, that he might be the first-begotten from the Dead, and stay'd till the third Day in the lower Parts of the Earth, afterwards rising in the Flesh to shew his Disciples even the Marks of the Nails, and so ascended to the Father; how are they not ashamed, who call this World Hell, &c. For whereas the Lord walked in the midst of the Shadow of Death, where the Souls of the Dead are, afterwards rose again, and after his Resurrection was taken up; it is manifest that the Souls of his Disciples, for whom he did these things, shall go into an invisible Place, appointed for them by God, and shall stay there till the Resurrection, in expectation of it; afterwards having receiv'd their Bodies, and being risen perfectly, i. e. corporeally, even as the Lord rose, they shall thus appear in the Presence of God. Tertullian has used (n) the same Argument: *We read that Christ**

(l) Ibidem.

(m) P. 305.

(n) In the Place afore cited.

was three Days dead in the Heart of the Earth, i. e. in the most intimate and internal Recess, cover'd by the Earth, dug within it, but yet built upon the lower Abysses. Now if Christ God, because also Man, died according to the Scriptures, was bury'd according to the same, fulfilled this Condition of human Death also, to descend into Hell, and did not ascend into those Places which are higher than the Heavens, before he descended into the lower Parts of the Earth, there to communicate himself to the Patriarchs and Prophets; you must believe a subterraneous Region of Hell, and reject those Dreamers, who proudly think the Souls of the Faithful above descending into Hell, Servants above their Masters, who, forsooth, if in Abraham's Bosom, would disdain the Comforts of an expected Resurrection. The Heresy then of the *Valentinians* and the *Marcionites*, was rather the Occasion of this Article, than that of the *Arians* or *Apollinarians*; unless any Person has a mind to affirm, that the first Instructions of the Apostles themselves gave occasion to the Catechumens sometimes to profess it in their Confessions of Faith. For the Chief of the Apostles, in his first Sermon at *Jerusalem* on the Day of Pentecost, hath very clearly expounded this Article in these words: *That his Soul was not left in Hell, nor his Flesh saw Corruption* (o).

13. From what has been said, if duly weigh'd, I think it very plain, that all the Articles of the Apostles Creed, except that of the Communion of Saints, (may be also that of the Church) and that of Christ's Descent into Hell, were profess'd by the first Christians in their solemn Confessions of Faith, by the Authority, or at least Approbation of the Apostles themselves; and therefore that the Creed, for the Substance of most of its Articles, is rightly call'd Apostolical, and truly challeng'd by *Irenaeus* (to mention none of the latter Fathers) as a Tradition received from the Apostles, and their Disciples. Nor indeed can it well be, if at all, that so many Churches in

(o) Acts 2. 31.

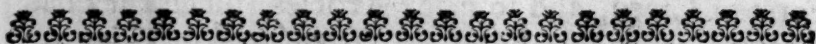
such distant Parts of the World, should agree in a Form of Creed, and so many Articles, unless they had received it in that Form, &c. from an Authority acknowledged by them all. The reason why the Creeds of several Churches differ in Words and Phrases, is this (as (p) *Jerome* has observed) that *the Symbol of our Faith and Hope, deliver'd down from the Apostles, was not written with Ink and Paper, but upon the Fleeshly Tables of the Heart.* Hence it became free to every one to express his own Sense in his own Words; but yet I will not take upon me to prove that Tradition, which (q) *Rufinus* hath given us concerning the twelve Apostles: *Being about to depart from one another, they made a common Rule or Standard of their future Preaching, lest perhaps being separated, they should teach those they invited to Christianity something different: All of them therefore being together, and fill'd with the Holy Spirit, composed that short Standard of their future Preaching, compiling into one Form every one's Sentiment; and resolved it should be deliver'd to the Believers.* Tho, for the Substance, or first Elements, of this Creed of the Apostles, drawn out in the Catechetical Discourses of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, some such thing as this might not be improbable; yet the Division of the twelve Articles of the Creed among the twelve Apostles, which we have in a Piece among the Works of (r) *St. Austin*, and some such other Fancies, which it would be impertinent to speak of here, are of no value or consideration.

(p) Ep. 61. c. 9.

(q) Exposit. Symbol.

(r) Tom. 10. Sermon. 115. de Tempore.





C H A P. VII.

Of a famous Place in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

THERE is yet another Argument, by which (s) *Episcopus* attempts to support his Assertion. The second Argument, says he, by which I prove my Antecedent, is this: It is clear from Justin, a very antient Author, (for he flourish'd in the Year of Christ 150) and a Martyr for the Christian Religion, that the Christian Churches of those Days not only thought the Determination and Profession of that peculiar Mode not necessary to Salvation; but also held Communion with those that denied it, and professed to believe that Jesus Christ was no more than mere Man, Man of Man, and made Christ, or the Messiah, by Election. The Place of Justin, from which this is prov'd, is in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew (t), which you may find cited in the Apology of the Remonstrants, near the End of the Answer to the Censure, Chapter the third, and largely argu'd upon, and establish'd in my (u) Answer of the Remonstrants to the Specimen of Calumnies, &c. of the four Professors of Leyden; to which, not to be guilty of Repetition, I refer you. Thus *Episcopus*.

2. I will here give you the entire Place, not mangled and curtail'd, as it is cited by the Remonstrants in their Apology. Thus Justin discourses in that Passage: (x) Now Trypho, I don't fail in my Proof that this is the Christ of God, tho I should not be able to shew, both that he pre-existed the Son of the Creator of all things, being God, and that he was begotten Man of the Virgin; for it being notwithstanding every way demonstrated that he, who-soever he is, is the Christ of God, tho I don't prove that he

(s) *Episcop.* p. 340. vol. 1. par. 1.

(t) Vol. 2. p. 2. p. 136.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 295. (x) *R.* 267,

pre-existed, and condescended according to the Council or Purpose of the Father, to be begotten Man of like Passions with us, being incarnate, you can only in justice say that I am mistaken; but you can't deny that he is the Christ, tho he only seems to be Man begotten of Man, and be prov'd to be made Christ by Election. For there are even some of our Sort, my Friends, who confess him to be the Christ, and yet affirm that he is Man of Men. I am not of the same Opinion with these Men, nor are there many of my Sentiments who will say as they do; for we are not exhorted by Christ to give our selves up to human Arguments or Doctrines, but to those which were preach'd by the Holy Prophets, and taught by himself. I have dissented from Justin's Interpreter, both in some smaller Matters, and also in rendring the Words in the Margin (y), which indeed he has translated neither agreeably to the Greek Text, nor to good Sense. For from the Words going before, this must be Justin's (z) Sense: If I have elsewhere solidly prov'd from the Prophets, that our Jesus is that Christ of God, such an one as he was to be according to their Prophecies, whether God to be born Man of a Virgin, which is the Catholick Notion, and mine; or Man begotten of a Man and a Woman, as you, Trypho, and the Jews

(y) 'Αλλ' ἐν παντός ἀποδεικνυμένον ὅτι ὁ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τὸ θεῶν, ὅς ἐστις ὁ γὰρ ἔστιν.

(z) Tho it is very clear that Justin is only arguing with Trypho upon his own Supposition, and ad Hominem: You think the Messiah is only to be Man, therefore tho I should not be able to prove the Pre-existence of Jesus, if I prove him to be the Messiah, it is enough against you. Dr. Whitby is pleas'd to bring this Passage as an Argument from Justin, that the proper Divinity of Christ is not to be concluded from his being the proper Son of God. But the Design of it is no such thing. (2.) The Sentiment, whatever the Doctor will have it, is not Justin's, but that of Trypho or the Jews, and some corrupt Christians; and the Doctor might have seen this himself, and inform'd his Reader of it, if he would have read the Words immediately following those, with which he ends this Citation, and not have taken it as he found it in Episcopius: I'm not of their Opinion, &c. Indeed the Doctor seems to have thought that Justin would do nothing for him, by interpolating his Words, to give them the only Turn they have towards his Sentiment.

are

are of opinion) tho I can't demonstrate that he is the Son of God, and made Man of a Virgin, yet you are not therefore to deny that he is the very Christ foretold, and promised by the Prophets.

3. I'm sure there is nothing in these Words of *Justin*, from which *Episcopus*, or the Remonstrants, can prove either that the Church in *Justin's* Time, or that *Justin* himself held the Doctrine of the Son's Divinity not necessary to Salvation, much less that they kept up Communion with those Churches that deny'd it. If indeed the Remonstrants can prove any thing from it, they prove too much, which is a certain Sign of a very bad Argument. For the Persons here noted by *Justin*, not only affirm'd that our Saviour was only Man, but Man begotten of the Coition of a Man and a Woman after the common Manner of Men. From this, if the Remonstrants argue rightly from the Place, it will follow that *Justin*, and the Church in *Justin's* Days, held Communion with those, who, despising the Authority of the Holy Evangelists, and the constant and consentient Tradition of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, were not afraid to deny that the Man Christ was born of the Virgin *Mary*; an Opinion worthy a Mad-Man only. I have not yet indeed (a) seen the Answer of the Remonstrants to the Specimen of Calumnies, &c. so as to know certainly how they confirm their Assertion from the Place cited out of *Justin*, and therefore can only argue conjecturally.

4. But have they given it as their Opinion, that what they contend for, follows from this that *Justin* says, namely, that it could not be false, that Jesus was the promised Christ, tho it was not demonstrable that he was God, and born Man of the Virgin? Now it is very clear that *Justin* here uses the Argument *ad Hominem*, which is very common in these

(a) Our Reverend Author afterwards got a Sight of this worthy Piece, and hath directly, and at large, confuted it in the Appendix.

Disputes. *Justin* had before attempted to prove that it was foretold of Christ by the Prophets, that he, tho existing before Ages, the Son of God, and God, should at last be born Man of a Virgin. When he afterwards made a Digression concerning some other Matters, *Trypho* calls him back to the finishing the former Point. (b) *We have heard the Sentiment of these things, now resume the Discourse, where you left off, and finish it; for it seems to me a Paradox, and impossible to be proved. That you should say this Christ pre-existed, being God before Ages, and afterwards condescended to be begotten, being made Man, and that he is not Man of Man, is, I I think, not only strange, but absurd.* *Justin* then, as *Trypho* desires, resumes the Disputation, and finishes it at large, fully proving that the Christ foretold by the Prophets was to be both God and Man, born of a Virgin. In the mean time, to stop the Mouth of his cavilling Adversary at present, he gives him a twofold Answer. First, he sharply blames his Blindness and Obstinacy, and that also of the Jewish Nation, who rejected the Doctrine concerning Christ, the Son of God, and God, who was also to take upon him Flesh from a Virgin, tho plainly deliver'd in the Old Testament, as incredible, absurd, and foolish, and chose rather to believe their own doating Rabbies in this Matter, than the Voice of God by his inspired Prophets: (c) *I know, says he, the Discourse seems strange, and especially to those of the Nation or Kindred, who are not inclined either to understand or perform the Things of God, but those of your own Teachers; as God himself cries out against you.* It is easy to guess (by the way) to how much greater Blindness *Justin* would have thought those Men abandon'd and condemn'd, who, professing themselves Christians, and living in the clearest Light of the Gospel, (to which the old Prophecy, comparatively speaking, was only as a Light shining in a dark Place) have with equal Pertinacy

(b) P. 267.

(c) Ibidem.

rejected that Doctrine. Surely now, if *Episcopi* and the Remonstrants had attentively read these words of *Justin* immediately going before those cited by them, they could never have thought the Place for their purpose. But to proceed.

5. After this, *Justin* answers, by refuting *Trypho*, from Principles own'd by him, in the Place cited by the Remonstrants: *But, O Trypho, I don't fail in my Proof that this is the Christ of God, &c.* As tho he should have said: If I could not prove from the Prophets, (which I have partly done already, and shall do hereafter more fully and effectually) that the Christ was to be God, and Man born of a Virgin for our Salvation; I should not therefore quite lose my Cause, at least with you *Jews*, who cannot, agreeably to your Principles, deny that our Jesus is that Christ; for you expect no other Christ, or Messiah foretold and promised by the Prophets, than one that is mere Man, begotten of Men. This *Trypho* himself quickly confesses: (d) *We all*, says he, *look for Christ as Man begotten of Man.* It is then plain, that *Justin* here argues, not from his own Sentiment, or the Truth of the Thing itself, but from the Hypothesis of the *Jews*, with whom he disputes. For *Justin* indeed could not, without the grossest Contradiction, and a manifest Refutation of a great part of what he has eagerly contended for in this Dialogue, affirm, or allow that it did not really follow that Jesus was not that Christ of God foretold by the Prophets, if he was not true God, born Man of a Virgin. There he lays himself out greatly, in proving that it was very plainly foretold of that Christ of God by the Prophets, that he should be absolutely God, and should take Flesh from a Virgin. Besides, *Justin* elsewhere expressly teaches, that no one could be equal to the Office of Christ the Mediator, unless he was the very Son of God, and consequently God. There is a remarkable Passage in the Epistle to *Diognetus*:

(d) P. 268.

(e) He gave his own Son a Ransom for us, the Holy for the Sinners, the Innocent for the Evil, the Just for the Unjust, the Incorruptible for the Corruptible, the Immortal for the Mortal. For what else could cover our Sins but his Righteousness? By whom was it possible for us Sinners and Impious to be justify'd, but by the only Son of God. O the sweet Redemption, O the unsearchable Work! Therefore, according to *Justin*, it could not be that any should satisfy God the Father for our Sins (the chief Office of our Saviour Christ) besides the proper, incorruptible, immortal Son of God. Now who this Son of God is, so celebrated by *Justin*, every one who is the least acquainted with the Holy Martyr's Works, well knows; namely, that Son of God, who was begotten of God the Father before every Creature, who was his Counsellor and Assistant in the Creation of all things; who lastly, at the appointed time, descended from Heaven, being made Man, for Man's Salvation. Parallel to this, is what we have in this (f) *same Dialogue*, where first having given a clear account of the Catholick Doctrine, both of the universal Guilt of Mankind, from that celebrated Place, *Cursed is every one, who hath not continued in those things, which are written in the Book of the Law, to do them*; and of the Satisfaction made by Jesus Christ crucify'd, who took upon him the Curse of all Men; he immediately adds, that what the *Jews* were entirely ignorant of, was foretold by God, that *this Jesus is before all things, and the eternal Priest of God, and King, and was to be the Christ*. By these words he signifies God's Intention and Decree, that the Sins of Men should not be expiated but by an eternal Priest, who existed before (g) *all things*. Compare also what he says in this *Dialogue*

(e) P. 500.

(f) P. 323.

(g) —That Mankind could not be freed from the Corruption contracted by the Fall of Adam, but by the Incarnation of him, who was in his own Nature Life, that is God, or the Essential Son of God, *Justina* hath expressly taught in a lost Oration of his against the Gentiles;

Dialogue (h) from the 110th Psalm concerning Christ, a Priest according to the Order of *Melchizedeck*. Nor was this a Singularity of *Justin's*, but the common Sentiment of the Primitive Fathers, who have all with one Consent taught, that it is absolutely necessary the Saviour and Mediator of Men with God, should be God and Man; a Point, if it was not foreign to my Purpose, which I could prove by a great many Evidences. However, at present I'll produce two Evidences of Catholick Doctrine for all, but those very ample, one more antient than *Justin*, and the other just after him. *Ignatius*, a Bishop of the Apostolick Age, teaches this plain in a Place I have often cited from him: *There is one Physician, carnal and spiritual, made and unmade, God in the Flesh, true Life in Death, &c.* He thought it was God-Man alone who could give a saving Medicine to our Souls, grievously distemper'd, and mortally sick. But (i) *Irenæus*, next to *Justin*, frequently urges and inculcates the same Doctrine, and especially where he explains it in a *Learned Manner*, thus: *He then united Man to God. For if Man had not conquer'd the Adversary of Man, he had not been lawfully conquer'd. Again, if God had not given Salvation, we could not have firmly obtain'd it; and if Man had not been united to God, he could not have been Partaker of Incorruption. For it behoved the Mediator of God*

titles; from which Leontius, in his second Book against the Eutychians and Nestorians, hath cited these words: Corruption being become natural to us, it was necessary that he, who would save us, should destroy that which corrupted us. This could not otherwise be, except what was naturally Life was join'd to that which was corruptible, to vanquish Corruption, and for the future preserve that Immortal which was obnoxious to it. It was therefore necessary that the Word should be embody'd, to free us from the Death of our natural Corruption. Grabe. See the Spicileg. Tom. 1. Cent. 2. p. 172. where you have this entire Fragment transcribed in Greek, from a MS. in the Bodleian, and in p. 173. the parallel Place of Irenæus, here cited by the Right Reverend Author.

(h) P. 250, &c.

(i) P. 284. Lib. 3. Cap. 20.

and

and Men, by a proper Familiarity with both, to bring them to Friendship and Unanimity, to present Man to God, and to make known God to Men. Neither *Justin* therefore, nor any Catholick of that Age, could safely grant, that it did not follow that Jesus was not the Christ, upon supposition that he was mere Man only. For from this Hypothesis (which was *Justin's*, and Catholick) *Whosoever is Christ, must be God*; it necessarily follows, that they who deny Jesus to be God, deny him to be Christ. We must then conclude, that *Justin* in the Place controverted, argued from the Hypothesis of the *Jews*, with whom he had to do, and who believed that Christ was to be a mere Man only.

6. But besides this, it may be objected that *Justin* speaks plainly of some, who in his days confess'd Jesus to be the Christ, and yet both deny'd his Divinity, and that he was born of a Virgin, as tho they were in the Communion of the Catholick Church, and esteem'd true Christians: for he says that they were of one Sort, *i. e.* of the Christian Kind. But this is nothing. For those Opiniators might be call'd by *Justin*, of ours, *i. e.* of the Christians, as receiving the Christ, and upon that account boasting themselves to be Christians, as (k) *Origen* speaks of the *Ebionites*, whom we shall also find hereafter to be intended in this Place by *Justin*. The same (l) *Origen* also, treating of some other notorious Hereticks, calls them some in the Multitude of Believers, *i. e.* of those that profess'd Christ. So also (m) *Justin*, in his second Apology to *Antoninus Pius*, having first spoke of the Disciples of *Simon*, *Menander*, and *Marcion* (the worst of Hereticks) adds: *All that sprung from these, are call'd Christians, as those, who, tho not of the same Sentiments, entirely bear the common Name given to Philosophers.* Indeed, if *Justin* had here disputed with some Sect of Christians that dissented from him, and had call'd

(k) Lib. 5. contra Celsum, p. 272.

(l) Lib. 8. p. 387.

(m) P. 70.

them, by way of Contradistinction, of *our Sort*, whose Sentiment he describes concerning Christ as mere Man, it might have been probably concluded, that he held them for Men of the same Communion, and consequently for true Members of the Catholick Church. But the Case is far otherwise. For in this place, *Justin* disputes with *Trypho*, and his Friends the *Jews*, profess'd Enemies of Christianity, from whom Men of every Sect, under the common Name of Christians, might be justly distinguish'd. Moreover, where *Justin* speaks of Christians dissenting from him in any Point, but yet in the Communion of the Church, and holding the Catholick Faith, he clearly signifies it. Thus in this (n) *very Dialogue*, speaking of the Catholick Christians who rejected the *Millennium*, which he embraced, he says they were Christians in other respects of pure and pious Principles. If *Justin* had given such a Character of these Men, who deny'd the Divinity of our Lord Christ, the Remonstrants might have had something to have rejoiced at in the Communion, which *Justin*, and the Church in his time, held with them. But in vain do they attempt to prove this, because *Justin* call'd those Hereticks [*of our Sort.*] Now what if these should not be *Justin's* Words? Indeed I am verily perswaded there is an Error here, and one that may be easily corrected only by the Change of a Letter, *i. e.* by writing ὑμετέρας instead of ἡμετέρας. which if admitted, the Words must be render'd *of your Sort*, that is, of the *Jewish Nation*. An Error which has happen'd in this same Period, the writing τοῦτον for τέτον, shews how easily this we are now observing might be. But my Reasons for this Correction are plainly these: (1.) Wheresoever in this Dialogue this Form of Speaking occurs [οἱ ἀπὸ γένους] the word γένος is taken not metaphorically, but properly for a Nation or Kindred; so that [οἱ ἀπὸ γένους πύοις] may be said to be Persons of a certain Nation

or Kindred. So in the Sentence before the *Passage* cited, and in the *preceding Page*, and every where. Now in this sense, *Justin* could not, by that Expression, mean the Professors of the Christian Religion, for Christians were not all of one Nation, &c. Upon this account, I don't remember that you can find any Place where Christians universally are by *Justin* call'd our Nation. (2.) The Heterodox, *Justin* speaks of, were *Ebionites*, as we shall prove by and by; now they were indeed of the *Jewish* Nation: Hence the Antient Ecclesiastical Writers usually range the Heresy of the *Ebionites* among those, which rose amongst the *Jews*. See the (o) *Apostolical Constitutions*, and what we have said before (p). (3.) In the *Passage* of the preceding Page, refer'd to before, *Justin*, manifestly treating of the *Ebionites*, writes thus: *If those of the Nation, who profess to believe in this Christ, Trypho, compel those of the Gentiles, who believe in this Christ, to live exactly according to the Law of Moses, or else deny to communicate with them in such a way, (namely, that he had spoke of a little before, of having all things in common as Brethren, and Men of the same Bowels) I should also refuse them.* Those Christians of the *Jews*, who not only observ'd the Ritual Law of *Moses* themselves, but also impos'd upon the *Gentile* Christians a Necessity of doing the same, were certainly the *Ebionites*, and no others. Add to these the Testimony of (q) *Epiphanius*, that the *Ebionites* taught Circumcision as instituted by God, and commanded to all for the sake of Purity, and obtaining the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. Now since the *Ebionites* are here describ'd by this Periphrasis, [*those of your Nation who profess to believe in this Christ*] who can doubt but in the Place cited by the Remonstrants, *Justin*, speaking of the same *Ebionites*, in like manner calls them [*some of your Nation, who confess that he is Christ?*] (4.) Lastly, if this Reading is receiv'd, *Justin* will be consistent, other-

(o) C. 6. Lib. 6. (p) Ch. 3. Sect. 1, 3. (q) Hæres. 30. C. 30.

Wife not. He had said, as we have observ'd, that tho he could not prove, that our Jesus was both God before Ages, and in the Fulness of Time made Man of a Virgin; yet that *Trypho*, who was a Jew, ought not therefore to deny that he was the Christ, or Messiah promised by the Prophets. This he proves very fitly, and illustrates by the Example of some of the Jewish Nation, who neither acknowledg'd the Divinity of Jesus, nor his Nativity of a Virgin, and yet confess'd him to be Christ. The Case is indeed clear to me, and if I am not greatly mistaken, the impartial Reader, who weighs the Scope and Context of the Place with Diligence and Judgment, will be of my Opinion.

7. But perhaps some Person will urge, that *Justin* simply professes his own Dissent from the Heterodox he glances at, without any other Brand of Infamy upon them. He only says, he is not of their mind, and neither calls their Opinion Heresy, nor them Hereticks. I answer, What if it be so? He has no business with them in that place. He is upon another Design, and only mentions them by the by. But is it absolutely necessary, that he who thinks another an Heretick, should call him so, as often as he speaks of him? I doubt not but that *Justin*, in the Book professedly wrote by him against all Heresies (which he also mentions in this Dialogue) has sharply treated this, and painted it in proper Colours. Besides, here is a plain Mistake, that *Justin* has not stigmatized these vain Thinkers. For he plainly says, that they did not only dissent from him, but from the Faith and Opinion of most Christians, *i. e.* the Catholick Church. And indeed in *Justin's* time, those who taught that our Lord was only Man begotten of Man, were either *Carpocratians*, or *Cerinthians*, or lastly, *Ebionites*, who all in one Body were a very few, compar'd with the other Christians, and were all of them separated from the Communion of the Apostolical Churches. No one doubts it of the *Carpocratians* and *Cerinthians*.

As

As for the *Ebionites*, it is clear from what we have cited out of *Ignatius* and *Irenaeus*, that they, from their first Original, were accounted Hereticks by the Catholick Church. Most of the Christians of the Circumcision, that is, the *Nazaraeans*, who retain'd the Primitive Faith of the Church of *Jerusalem*, founded by the Apostles, condemn'd their Opinion of Christ as mere Man (r); and they, as we shall shew hereafter, neither were, nor could be in Communion with the Church of the *Gentile* Christians. Further, *Justin* signifies that they of whom he speaks, did not only go contrary to Catholick Consent, but also oppos'd the Sacred Oracles of the Old, and especially the New Testament. This he plainly hints in the last words of the cited Paragraph, which the Remonstrants, with more Cunning than Candour, have omitted. *I*, says he, *am not of their mind, nor most Christians; for we are exhorted by Christ to believe, not the Traditions and Doctrines of Men, but those which the Holy Prophets have publish'd, and Christ himself hath taught.* Nay, *Justin* clearly hints in these words (as shall be prov'd hereafter) that those Heterodox Men rather gave credit to human Traditions, than the Predictions of the old Prophets, or the Words of Christ himself in his Gospel. This surely was enough for *Justin* to say of them by the way.

8. What I have often mention'd, that the *Ebionites* are here censur'd by *Justin*, I come now to explain and confirm at large. Now if we consult Ecclesiastical History, and the antient Heresiologers, we shall find that there is no Sect of Christians, either in *Justin's* time or before, with which the Opinion here describ'd does exactly agree, except the *Ebionites*. For tho the *Carpocratians* and *Cerinthians*, as well as the *Ebionites*, did affirm Jesus to have been only a mere Man, propagated of both Sexes; yet it never was their Opinion, that he was by Election promoted to

(r) See Ch. 2. of this Treatise, Sect. 11, 12.

the Office of Mediator. Nay, I know not whether they had any Thoughts of the Christ or Messiah foretold by the Prophets. The *Carpocratians*, as (s) *Irenæus* reports, placed the Dignity and Excellence of our Jesus in this, *That his Soul being firm and pure, he remember'd those things which he had seen, when he was carry'd about in the unbegotten God, and that therefore God gave him power to vanquish the Makers of the World, and having pass'd thro all, and deliver'd all, to ascend to God.* This Whim never enter'd into the Head of those whom *Justin* censures. Besides, those *Carpocratians* were the worst of Men, given to Magick; and arriv'd at such a pitch of Impiety, as to deny all Distinction of Good and Evil, as *Irenæus* in the same place informs us. We can't therefore believe that *Justin* would build any Argument against *Trypho*, and his Friends the *Jews*, upon the Opinion of these Men, or rather Brutes in human Shape; especially when the *Jews*, in other respects, whether of their Country, or the Sacred Rites, had nothing in common with them. As for the *Cerinthians* also, tho they indeed symboliz'd with the *Jews*, to avoid the Persecutions rais'd by them; yet the Opinion describ'd and censur'd by *Justin*, does not quadrate with them. For the *Cerinthians* did not confess Jesus to be the Christ, but understood the word *Christ*, not as denoting Office or Honour, but as signifying a certain *Æon*, or Power, which descended from the Chief of all Powers to Jesus for a time only, as we have often observ'd before. It remains then that *Justin* be thought to intend the *Ebionites*. For besides these three Sects, there is no other mention'd by any Ecclesiastical Writer, which either in the Days of *Justin*, or before, taught that Jesus was only a Man begotten of Men. Almost all the other Hereticks of those Times, who were Heterodox concerning the Person of Christ, have spoke against the Truth and Reality of his human Nature. Now the

(s) Lib. 1. Cap. 24. p. 121, & 122.

Ebionites being *Jews*, when they went off from the Primitive Faith and Opinion of the Church of *Jerusalem*, embrac'd the common Notion of the *Jews* concerning the Messiah, which was the very same *Justin* describes in the Place cited. Hereupon *Trypho* soon after commends and approves it: *I think those who say he was made Man, and by Election anointed and made the Christ, speak more probably than those, who say as you say. For all we expect, that Christ will be made Man of Man, and that Elias will come and anoint him.* And afterwards he (t) advises *Justin*, if he would persuade the *Jews* and others that *Jesus* is the *Christ*, to teach that he was *Man of Man*, and for his strict and perfect way of Life, was thought worthy to be chosen the Messiah (u). This indeed was the very Opinion of *Ebion*, and his first Disciples, tho the later *Ebionites* went off from it, and took up several Opinions concerning *Christ*, many of them embracing something not unlike *Cerinthianism*, as (x) *Epiphanius* says.

9. But to return to the controverted Place of *Justin*. The last Words of it, in which *Justin* hints that the Heterodox censur'd by him did attend more to human Doctrines than the Sayings of the Prophets, and of *Christ* himself in the Gospel, clearly point out the *Ebionites*. For they were so wedded to the Scheme they had receiv'd from the *Hebrew* Doctors concerning *Christ's* mere Humanity, that they would not suffer themselves to be divorc'd, tho the Predictions of the Prophets, and the Testimonies of the Evangelists and Apostles of *Christ*, oppos'd it. They shut their Eyes, and stopt their Ears against the Predictions of the Prophets, which expressly declare the Divine Glory and Majesty of the Messiah. They, as well as the *Jews*, deprav'd the Prophetical Oracle concerning the Virgin

(t) P. 291.

(u) Very remarkable that in *Justin's* Days, and some pretended *Christian* Priests in our Times, should agree in facilitating the Conversion of Mankind, by denying the Divinity of *Christ*.

(x) Hæres. 30. C. 3. collat. C. 17.

Birth, by an insipid Comment. And, for the Scriptures of the New Testament, they only received the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, rejecting the other three, especially that of St. *John*, because he, both in the beginning of his Gospel, plainly and professedly declares the eternal Divinity of our Lord, and very often elsewhere reports how he asserted his Divine Majesty before the *Jews*. Nay, they mutilated the very Gospel of St. *Matthew*; for they took away the first Chapter, and begun with those things which happen'd in the Times of *Herod* and *Caiaphas* the High Priest, for this reason, because that Chapter contain'd a clear Testimony concerning Christ's Nativity of the Virgin. They were not afraid openly to reject whatsoever in the Scriptures of the New Testament contradicted their *Rabbinical* Notions. Perhaps *Ignatius* had an eye upon the Impudence and Wickedness of these Men in his (y) Epistle to the *Philadelphians* (in which, no doubt, he plainly censures the Hereticks, who then attempted to bring *Judaism* into the Churches of the *Gentiles* :) *I have heard some, who say, Unless I find it in the Antients, I don't believe it in the Gospel; and when I have laid it to them, It is written, they have reply'd, It is nothing worth, tho written, or it is establish'd before [in the Antients.]* The Antients, I suppose, are the old Rabbins, Masters, or Doctors of the *Hebrews*, who were famous some Years before our Lord's Coming, whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Jews* and their mad Admirers esteem'd as Oracles. The word *πρόκειται* is unintelligibly render'd by the old Interpreter [*præ-jacet.*] It often signifies to be thrown away, as of no value or worth. If so, *Ignatius's* Sense must be, That these Men, of whom he speaks, were not ashamed to profess, that they would only so far believe the Gospel, as it was agreeable to the Traditions of these Doctors; and that when he refuted the Opinions they had receiv'd from them, by the Scriptures of the New Te-

flament receiv'd in the Church, they reply'd that they rejected those Scriptures, as of no Authority. Thus the pretended *Ignatius* seems to have understood the Word, when he thus enlarges upon the Place: (2) *It is hard to kick against the Pricks, it is hard to disbelieve Christ, it is hard to reject the Preaching of the Apostles.* But the Word may also be referred to the Opinion these Hereticks defended against the Scriptures, alledg'd by *Ignatius* in another and a contrary Signification: For as the simple Verb *κείνται* sometimes signifies, *It is laid down*, it is an Axiom, upon which account such Propositions are call'd *κείμενα*; so *τεθένται* may signify, *It is laid down, fix'd, defin'd, or establish'd before.* If so, the Sense will be, That the Hereticks reply'd to *Ignatius*, disputing with them out of the Scriptures of the New Testament, that their Opinion was defin'd and establish'd before, namely, by the Antients, when the Scriptures were not as yet publish'd. Take it which way you please, you may plainly see the same foolish Veneration of the Antients, the same profane Contempt of the Scriptures. But this, by the way; I proceed. These *Ebionites* also, in order to defend the universal Obligation of the Ritual *Mosaical* Law, rejected all *St. Paul's* Epistles, and call'd him an Apostate from the Law. Well then, were not these Men Hereticks, and did not *Justin* esteem them so? Did the Church in *Justin's* Time, or did *Justin* himself hold Communion with them? He may believe it that can, but I can't. Nay more, *Justin* could not communicate with the *Ebionites*, if he would, for they would not communicate with the *Gentile* Christians, and were therefore rejected as Hereticks by *Justin*, as is plain from a Passage we have *before cited* from him, in this Chapter.

10. I suppose I have now sufficiently prov'd that the Passage in *Justin*, cited by *Episcopi* and the Remonstrants, was in vain alledg'd by them to prove, that the Church in *Justin's* time held Communion with those that deny'd the Divinity of our Lord Jesus.

(2) Ibid. p. 84.

For from what has been said, it is very evident, that those Opiniators noted by *Justin* in that place, both deny'd the Divinity of Christ, and also his Nativity of the Virgin; and that they might defend their Hypothesis, held it necessary to reject, and consequently did impiously and impudently reject the Sacred Gospels of Christ receiv'd by the Catholick Church, and daily read in their Sacred Assemblies; that is, that the *Ebionites* were certainly intended by *Justin*, who were cast off by the other Christians of the Circumcision, namely the *Nazareans*, and who neither could, nor would communicate with any Church of the *Gentiles*.

11. To what has been said, I will only add some Places out of this very Dialogue with *Trypho*, by which it will plainly appear, what *Justin* himself thought of the Necessity of believing the Articles of our Saviour's Divinity, and of those *Ebionites* and others who deny'd it. First then, let us consult (a) *the Place*, I have often cited upon another Occasion; where he says, that their Faith concerning Christ, who are sav'd under the Gospel, is such, as *acknowledges Christ to be the Son of God, who was before Lucifer and the Moon, and who being made Flesh, condescended to be born of the Virgin of the House of David, that by this Dispensation the Serpent, who was first an Evil-doer, and the Angels who are like to him, might be destroy'd, &c.* From this we may easily conclude, that *Justin* did not esteem their Faith, who believ'd in such a Christ, or Son of God, as did not exist before *Mary*, and who was not begotten of the Virgin *Mary*, but of *Joseph* and *Mary*, to be the Christian Faith, or such a Faith concerning the Person of Christ, as is sufficient to Salvation. Surely every Man, who reads the entire Place, must think that *Justin* has there given us the Symbol or Rule of Faith, so far as it relates to Christ, and what he undertook, which in his time was re-

(a) P. 264.

ceived in the Church, and consequently that those, who contradicted it, could not but be esteem'd by the Church, and of course by him, who constantly adhered to it, as Apostates from the Rule, *i. e.* Hereticks. This will be more clear yet from another Passage in the same (b) *Dialogue*, where he seems to give us, as it were, a short Account of that Piece he had compos'd against all Heresies: *There are then, says he, and have been many Profelytes to Christianity, who have taught atheistical and blasphemous Tenets and Practises. We have given them their Denomination from those, from whom every Doctrine and Opinion sprung. Some of them teach one way, and others another of blaspheming the Maker of the Universe, and Christ, whom he had foretold should come, even the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. We communicate with none of these, as knowing themselves to be atheistical, impious, unjust and irregular, and instead of Worshippers of Jesus, only nominal Confessors of him. They call themselves Christians indeed, as the Heathen give the Name of God to things made with hands, and communicate in unlawful and impious Mysteries. Some of them are call'd Marcionites, some Valentinians, some Basilidians, some Saturnilians, and others by other Names, every one being denominated from the Author of his Opinion. Here Justin manifestly treats of all the Hereticks which in his Age or before had disturb'd the Church; he only names some of them, and adds that there were others known by other Names taken from their respective Heresiarchs, viz. Carpocratians from Carpocrates, Cerinthians from Cerinthus, Ebionites from Ebion, and many others. All these Hereticks did in some sort blaspheme God the Father, or the Son, or both, by their Doctrine. Some, says he, teach one way, others another, of blaspheming the Maker of the Universe, and Christ, whom he had foretold should come, even the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here it is especially to be observ'd, that this Christ and the God of Abraham,*

(b) P. 253.

Isaac, and *Jacob*, are spoken of as the same Person, namely, as he whom the Maker of the Universe foretold should come, that is, the Son of God. For first, the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, is plainly distinguish'd from the Maker of the Universe, that is, from God the Father. Then it is notorious, that *Justin* every where in this Dialogue teaches, that it was Christ, or the Son of God, who appear'd to *Moses* in the burning Bush, and call'd himself the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*. Well then, did not the *Ebionites* blaspheme Christ, the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, at all, who openly deny'd that Christ was the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*? who taught that he did not exist before *Abraham*, no not before *Mary*; who presumed to affirm that he was no more than a meer Man begotten of *Joseph* and *Mary*? Further, *Justin* says, that these Hereticks were, instead of Worshipers of Jesus, only nominal Confessors of him. Don't these words also strike at the *Ebionites*? Sure they do. For of what Worship or Adoration doth *Justin* speak? Of that, doubtless, which he, in this Dialogue, contends is due to Jesus Christ, and in which he enlarges himself upon the Proof, that he is both adorable and God, that is, to be adored as God. Without doubt he speaks of the Worship, which all Catholick Christians then gave to Christ, who glorify'd and adored him as God, together with the Father and Holy Spirit, in Hymns and Doxologies, as he (c) himself informs us (d). Did the *Ebionites* give such Worship to Christ? Nay, could they give it? By no means. Therefore it is certain that *Justin* placed the *Ebionites*, and all others, who, as well as they, oppos'd our Saviour's Divinity, in the Catalogue of Hereticks, with which the Church had no Communion, and whom they rejected as impious, and utterly unworthy the Name of Christians.

(c) P. 56.

(d) See what we have said upon this Place in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. Ch. 4. S. 8.

12. To these, if you please, you may add a third Place in this same Dialogue. There *Justin*, at the Instigation of *Trypho*, attempts largely to prove, that in the Old Testament he is frequently call'd God, and true God, not God improperly speaking, who is yet personally distinct from God the Parent of the Universe, meaning this Jesus Christ, in whom we believe: and further undertakes to bring such Arguments for it from the Law and the Prophets, as no Man shall be able to contradict. Then he immediately adds concerning the Proofs he was about to produce: (e) *They will seem strange to you, tho daily read by you. From this you may know, that God has hid the Power of understanding the Wisdom of his Words from you; except such, to whom, as Isaiah speaks, according to his very great Compassion, he has left as a Seed to Salvation, that your Nation might not utterly perish, like those of Sodom and Gomorrah.* Here every one may plainly see that the *Jews*, who believ'd in Christ, and embrac'd his Doctrine, are understood as those, who alone of the *Jewish* Nation are left by God as a Seed unto Salvation. But *Justin* plainly enough signifies, that all these understood the Wisdom, or Mystery of Christ the Son of God, and consequently God, to be deliver'd in the Old Scriptures; therefore he by no means thought, that they of the *Jewish* Nation, who professing to believe in Christ, did not yet perceive that Wisdom either in the Writings of the Prophets, or in the clear Light of the Gospel, namely the *Ebionites*, did belong to the Seed reserv'd by God to Salvation, that is, were truly Believers, or Christians; but rather judg'd them to be of the same Class with the *Jews*, who were reprobate, and blinded by the just Judgment of God. What I have before discoursed of the old *Nazaraens* (f), or the *Hierosolymitan* Christians of the Circumcision, is very proper to be consulted here, as what will both give light to this Place, and be better understood by it.

(e) P. 274. (f) Ch. 2. §. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.



APPENDIX to the Seventh Chapter.

AFTER I had finish'd my former Observations upon the celebrated Passage of *Justin*, I procur'd the other Volume of *Episcopus's* Works, in which I found the second Edition of the *Answer to the Specimen of Calumnies*, &c.

Now in that Answer the Remonstrants use many (g) Arguments to prove from that Place, that the *Antient Primitive Christian Church* held Communion with those who believ'd and profess'd that Christ Jesus was mere Man only, Man of Man, and made Christ by Election. They boast of some of their Arguments as the clearest imaginable, and propose others as highly probable. As for the first sort, every unprejudiced Man may see from what I have said before, that they are so far from being the most clear imaginable, that they can't justly be call'd highly probable. Nevertheless, we will briefly examine these very clear Arguments of *Episcopus* and the Remonstrants.

2. (1.) *Justin*, says *Episcopus*, affirms it possible to demonstrate solidly, that Jesus is the Christ of God, the promised Messiah, tho he can't prove that Christ pre-existed as the Son of God. He therefore believ'd that he might, by a sure Faith, be taken for, and worshipped as the Messiah, tho he was deny'd to be the eternal Son of God. I refer my Reader to a full and clear Answer to this in the foregoing Chapter (h). The Ground of *Episcopus's* Error, and that of the Remonstrants, was their not observing that *Justin* in this Place we are speaking of, does not argue from his own Sentiment, or the Truth of the Thing itself, but from the Jewish Hypothesis, with whom he disputes. Nothing can be plainer. (2.)

(g) Vol. 2. p. 2. Op. *Episcop.* p. 295, & 296.

(h) Ch. 7. Sect. 4, 5.

Justin, *Episcopus* adds, affirms, that, if any one believes Christ to be only Man begotten of Man, and made Christ by Election, he only errs, but does not deny the Christ. He therefore believed this Error to be such an one, as was consistent with that Faith, by which we believe Christ to be the Messiah, in which he places the Essence of Christianity. Now the Antecedent is plainly false. For *Justin* nowhere affirms what *Episcopus* says he doth. The words of *Justin*, in which *Episcopus* fancy'd his Antecedent, are these: But if I should not demonstrate that he [our Jesus] did pre-exist, and condescended to be made Man of like Passions with us, and incarnate according to the purpose of the Father, you may justly say I'm mistaken in that Point, but you can't deny that he is the Christ. Mistaken in what? In affirming his Pre-existence and Nativity of the Virgin. But then You, Trypho, who art a Jew, and expectest no other Messiah than a mere Man, Man begotten of Man, can take no advantage of my Mistake; it is good against you still (i). *Episcopus* proceeds to argue thus from the Place of *Justin*: He affirms that if this Point can be made good, namely, that Jesus is the Christ, or Messiah; it may and ought to satisfy a Jew, tho he knew nor, or deny'd, or could not prove that Jesus pre-existed as the Son of God, or even affirm'd that he was no more than mere Man. I scarce know what the learned Man means here. Does he mean, that if a Jew could only prove, and was only persuaded that Jesus was the Christ, or Messiah, that it would be sufficient for his Salvation, tho he knew not, or deny'd that Jesus pre-existed the Son of God, and even affirm'd that he was nothing but mere Man, begotten of Man? He must either intend this, or he has said nothing to the purpose. But then where has *Justin* affirm'd this? If this was indeed his Opinion, he has taken a great deal of pains in this Dialogue to no purpose, and gather'd Arguments from every part of the Old Testament to convince the Jews that it was foretold of Christ, or the Messiah, that he

(i) See Ch. 7. §. 4, 5.

should both be God, and born Man of a Virgin. In vain does he so often and so sharply correct and reprove their unparallel'd Obstinacy, in that they would not believe and confess these things; nay, sometimes he even bewails and compassionates them as forsaken of God, and blinded by his just Judgment. Surely when he did thus, he was not in earnest; for if *Episcopus* say true, he at the same time thought, it was not necessary for the *Jews* thus to believe, it was enough for their Salvation, to make a Messiah of him some way or other. Had it not been better for *Justin* to have said nothing of these Mysteries, than, by being eager upon unnecessary Truth, to drive them from an absolutely necessary Faith? But not to multiply words, I have evidently prov'd before, that *Justin*, and the Catholick Church of his Times, esteem'd those *Jews*, the *Ebionites* I mean, to be Hereticks, who confess'd Jesus to be the Christ, and yet deny'd his Pre-existence before Ages, and his Nativity of the Virgin, and held them to be Aliens from the true saving Knowledge and Faith of Christ. After these things, the Remonstrants urge those words, [*For there are some of our Sort*] but they have been clearly answer'd before (k). These are the Arguments which *Episcopus* and the Remonstrants boast of as the most clear imaginable; with what Judgment and Fidelity, let the impartial Reader judge.

3. Let us now proceed to the Arguments he proposes as highly probable, but what, I confess, I should never have dreamt of without his assistance. (1.) He urges, (l) *That those words of Justin* [Nor will very many say so; who are of my Opinion] *seem to shew that there were a few of that Opinion, in his Community. For he has not said* [No one of those who are of my Opinion (in contradistinction to the other Heretical Sects, the Marcionites, Valentinians, &c. whom he always distinguishes from his own) would say so] but [very few, &c.]

(k) Ch. 7. §. 6.

(l) Episcop. p. 296.

Here then you have this Argument: *The Words of Justin* [Nor will very many say so, who are of my Opinion] *shew that some (but a few) in the Church, where he communicated, believed Christ to be only Man begotten of Man: Therefore the Church in Justin's Time held Communion with those, who believed Christ mere Man.* I own the Consequence is very just: But without *Episcopus's* Spectacles, there is no finding the Antecedent. *Episcopus* takes the words, as tho they imply'd a Partition or Distinction: [Nor will very many of them, who are of my Opinion, say so.] But this is wrong. The Greek will not bear it. Besides, those he calls [*that are of my Opinion*] are here plainly, such as thought the same concerning Christ as *Justin* did, namely, that he was before Ages, and made Man of a Virgin; never a one of which, you may be sure, would say that he was Man begotten of Man. This is evident from *Trypho's* Answer immediately following: *I think, says he, they who say he was made Man, and by Election anointed and constituted Christ, speak more probably than those who say as you say.* Here no doubt [*those who say as you say*] are the same with those call'd by *Justin* [*who are of my Opinion*] but [*those who say as you say*] are without doubt such as with him affirm'd that Christ both pre-existed as God, and was born of a Virgin as Man, whose Opinion *Trypho* opposes, and prefers before it theirs, who asserted he was made Man, and by Election anointed and constituted Christ. It is then manifest that the Words in Controversy are explanatory, not distinctive; that *πλειστοι* is oppos'd to *πνεις*, which went before, and that therefore the Words of *Justin* must be understood in this sense: There are some, O *Trypho*, of our Sort, or rather of your Nation, who confess that *Jesus* is the Christ, and yet affirm that he is only a Man begotten of Man. I'm not of their Opinion; nor indeed would far the greatest part of Christians say so, for in this Point they think as I do. Who now would conclude from this, as *Episcopus* does, that there were some, with whom

Justin

Justin held Communion, who thought our Saviour to be only mere Man? To this you may add, that it was impossible the Heterodox, of whom *Justin* speaks, should have any Place in the Congregation or Assembly of any Catholick Church; because they not only deny'd the Divinity of our Lord, but also his Nativity as Man of the Virgin: and that they might support both their Hypotheses, plainly rejected the Gospels receiv'd in the Catholick Church, and read in her Sacred Assemblies. Nay, those in *Justin's* time, who publickly deny'd the Divinity of Christ our Lord, could not be present at the Divine Service of the Catholicks, without deriding the Christian Worship. For in the Liturgies of the Catholick Church, both in *Justin's* time, and before, even from the beginning, our Saviour was ador'd and glorify'd as God. *Justin* himself bears witness of his own Age, as we have shewn before; and before *Justin*, *Pliny (m)* reports this from the Confession of the Christian Apostates: *They affirm'd this was all their Crime, or their Error, that they usually met at an appointed time before day, and sung an alternate Hymn to Christ, as God.* A Catholick Author *(n)* has appeal'd to these Hymns, against *Artemon*, who impudently rejected the Opinion of the Church concerning our Saviour's Divinity, as novel: *The Psalms and Hymns, all that have been wrote by the faithful Brethren, celebrate the Word of God as God.* Nay, the Confession of our Lord's Divinity was so plain and express in those Hymns, that *Paulus Samosatenus* for that reason could not bear them, and even attempted (as the *Antiochian* Fathers tell us in their Synodical Epistle) to throw them out of all the Churches under his Government. The second of *Episcopus's* highly probable Arguments, is this: *Those words [of our Sort] seem to imply a more near Relation and Communion of Faith, than that, which is only nominal and external.* Now *Justin* says of these Men, whom he

(m) *Plinij Ep.* Ed. Hackran. 1669. Lib. 10. Ep. 97. p. 714.

(n) *Euseb. E. H.* Lib. 7. Cap. 30. p. 229.

calls [of his own Sort] that they did not deny him to be the Christ, or that it did not follow from their Opinion, that Jesus was not the Christ. This Argument is made up of two, which I particularly confuted (o) before. Concerning the words [of our Sort] see Chap. 7. Sect. 6. And as for the Reason, which Episcopus subjoins, we have proved that to be a gross Mistake of his.

5. The third Argument is this: *It should not seem very strange to any one, that Justin took those for Members of the true Church, who thought our Lord was mere Man; when he also esteem'd Socrates and Heraclitus to be Christians, who lived with Christ, the first-begotten of God: as Scultetus in his Analysis of the Apology for the Christians to Antoninus Pius (that is, Justin's) reports from Justin. A strange, foreign, far-fetch'd Argument! But however, I answer, I have clearly shewn before, that Justin held all those Professors of Christianity, who did not take Christ for the true God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and did not worship him as such, to be impious Hereticks, with whom neither he, nor the Catholick Church, had any Communion. As for the Heterodox also, noted in the Place before us, I have fairly prov'd that both Justin, and all Catholicks, esteem'd them heretical upon more accounts than one. Therefore if that is true, which Episcopus alledges from Scultetus, namely, that Justin took Socrates and Heraclitus for true Christians, this only will follow, that the holy Man had conceiv'd a better Opinion of Socrates and Heraclitus than of those Hereticks. Nor should any one admire, if Justin thought more honourably, and hoped better of the Heathens, who, without Divine Revelation, according to their small Portion of Light and Knowledge, worshipped one God, the Maker of all things, and follow'd after Vertue, (as he was of opinion that Socrates and Heraclitus did) than of those, who, boasting themselves Christians, did impudently and wickedly reject the first*

(o) Ch. 7. §. 4, 5.

Principles of their Religion reveal'd by God, and abundantly confirm'd by so many, and so great Miracles, plainly deliver'd by Christ and his Apostles, for this reason, that they could not with their weak Heads comprehend the whole Method and Reason of them.

But when *Justin*, in the (p) *Apology* inscrib'd the Second, calls *Socrates* and *Heraclitus* Christians, he does not mean Christians absolutely and perfectly, but in part only; and so far as they follow'd the Guidance of right Reason, despis'd the Heathen Idols, and, like the Christians, acknowledg'd and worship'd one God, the Parent of all things; so far as in their Writings they taught, and in their Lives express'd, a great deal of very good, and indeed Christian Morality. For *Justin* teaches, that the Reason, which is in every Man, is, as it were, a Seed or Portion of the Divine Word, or Reason that is of Christ, for which cause he calls him *the universal Reason*; and consequently that the *Gentile* Philosophers, who, before the coming of Christ, conform'd their Opinions and Lives to the Rule of that Reason within them, were so far Christians; but that those alone were absolutely Christians, who were taught, and did embrace the Divine Institution and Discipline of the universal Reason, *i. e.* of Christ, deliver'd in the Gospel, and far more excellent than all human Wisdom. This *Justin* partly signifies in that very place *Scultetus* had his eye upon (q): *We have been taught*, says he, *that Christ is the first-born of God, and we have before shewn that he is the Reason, of which all Mankind partakes. And they who live rationally, are Christians, &c.* But he gives us his Mind more fully in the *Apology* commonly publish'd as the first; there, speaking of certain Philosophers among the *Gentiles*, who were hated of their own People, for the excellent Morality they deliver'd by the Seed of Reason, natural to all Mankind; and having again produced the Example of *Heraclitus*, and one *Musonius* his Con-

(p) P. 83.

(q) Ibid.

temporary, he presently adds (r): For, as we have shew'd before, the Demons have always made all them to be hated, who, according to the best of their power, have endeavour'd to avoid Evil, and live according to Reason. And no wonder if they are found much more active in procuring them hatred, who live according to a Portion of the original Reason [in some sort rationally] yea, according to the Knowledge and Theory of the universal Reason, which is Christ. You see here in what sense Justin call'd Heraclitus and such Persons Christians, namely, as they conform'd their Manners in some sort to a Portion of the original Reason, lived according to Reason, and endeavour'd to avoid Evil. But betwixt them and the true Christians he makes a wide difference; for the true Christians are they, who live according to the Knowledge and Theory of the universal Reason, which is Christ. Now if any one suspects that Justin thought a Man, by the only Assistance of his natural Reason, might arrive at such a Knowledge of God, as would be sufficient to procure him Life and Bliss, heavenly and eternal, let him hear what he says for himself in the Conclusion of his *Parænesis* (s): You must therefore know this universally, that you can no otherwise learn the things of God and true Religion, than by the Prophets only, those who teach you by Divine Inspiration. His words are also very express in his Epistle to *Diognetus* (t): No Man hath known God himself, or discover'd him to another; but he hath exhibited himself, and this he hath done by Faith, by which only it is granted to us to see God.

6. I come now to *Episcopus's* fourth and last Argument, which proceeds thus: If any one, says he, reads the Writings of Justin, and especially his Dialogue, call'd Trypho, with exactness; he will find that Justin does indeed acknowledge Christ to be God and Lord; but every where denies him to be Creator of the Universe, and asserts that he is distinct, and different from him not only in Person, but in Nature, tho not in Will and Purpose.

(r) P. 46.

(s) P. 37.

(t) P. 499.

Now if this be so, it should not be strange that he thought those of his *own Sort*, who believed that he did not pre-exist before all other things, or was created, or made in the beginning, but was begotten and born of Man in time. Nor is there so great a difference betwixt those Opinions, as to occasion a Schism. For Christ is by both defin'd a Creature, and the Question only is, when he began to exist. Strange! What is the meaning of those words, that *Justin* every where denies Christ to be the Creator of the Universe? Does *Episcopi* mean by them, that *Justin* every where denies all created things to be brought out of nothing into Existence by Christ, *i. e.* the only begotten Son of God, who existed before all Ages, and after he had taken Flesh upon him, was call'd Christ? This is by no means true. For, on the other hand, *Justin* every where attributes the Creation of all things to the Son of God, as a Work common to him with God the Father. Thus having first spoke (*u*) of God the Father, he adds these words concerning the Son: *His Son, who is only properly call'd Son, the Word, who was with him before the Creatures, and born, when he first made and adorn'd all things by him, &c.* So in another place (*x*): *But this Birth, which really came from the Father before all Creatures, co-existed with the Father, and the Father conversed with him; namely, in those words a little before cited by him: Let us make Man, &c.* And in the Epistle to *Diognetus*, he teaches that the Son is not a Servant, but the very Artificer and Maker of all things. Did *Episcopi* then take the words [*Creator of the Universe*] personally, as they say, as they are the Title of God the Father, in respect of his being the Fountain of the Deity, and consequently of all Divine Operations? If this was his meaning, we confess *Justin* deny'd (as the Catholick Church always did) that Christ was God the Father. That was a Tenet condemn'd by the Church at several times, and

(*u*) P. 44.(*x*) P. 285

in the Persons of divers Hereticks. But *Episcopus* proceeds, saying that *Justin* every where asserts Christ (in his more excellent Nature, wherein he existed before Ages) to be different from the Creator of the Universe, that is, God the Father; and that not only in Person, but in Nature, so as to be only a Creature. Surely he who seriously charges this Heresy upon *Justin*, can't be thought to have read the good Father's Works with any exactness. For he is so far from it, that no one Place can be alledg'd to this purpose. Nay, on the other hand, in the Places *before cited* out of his first Apology, and his Dialogue with *Trypho*, he plainly distinguishes the Word, or Son of God, properly so call'd, that is, the true and natural Son of God, from the Creatures, and all those things that are made by God, and attributes to him an Existence co-eternal with God the Father. Also in the Place cited (y) from the Epistle to *Diognetus*, he expressly denies that the Son of God is a Servant, *i. e.* a Creature. In what sense the same *Justin* elsewhere, and other Primitive Fathers, have call'd him a Servant, and attributed to him a certain Dispensation, not compatible with the Father, in which he often from the beginning descended to the Earth, and in a visible Shape conversed with holy Men, you may see largely explain'd in *another Place* (z). Further, in the same Epistle to *Diognetus* (a), the Son of God is call'd by *Justin* [*he who always was, [but] to-day is reputed the Son;*] so in his *Parænesis* to the *Greeks*, he observes (b), that the Angel, who appear'd to *Moses* in the Bush, and whom he every where contends was the Son of God, call'd himself [*he that is*] and afterwards expressly notes that that Description belongs to the eternally existent God. Sure he who wrote thus, never dreamt that the Son of God was a Creature.

(y) P. 498. (z) Defence of the *Nicene Creed*, Sect. 4.
Ch. 2. §. 2. & Ch. 3. §. 4, & 5. (a) P. 501.
(b) P. 19, & 20.

7. Lastly, the Holy Martyr frequently asserts the Consubstantiality of the Son, tho he no where uses the very word, affirming that he is the true, real, genuine Son of God, begotten of the very Essence of the Father, and upon that account very God, as well as the Father, as I have largely shewn *elsewhere* (c). I will here very briefly repeat two Places only, which are there more copiously handled, from which it will appear as clearly as possible in what sense *Justin* asserted that the Son of God was different from God the Father. The former Place you find in his first Apology : (d) *They that say the Son is the Father, appear neither to know the Father, nor that the Father of the Universe hath a Son, who being the first-born Word of God, is also God.* Here you see that *Justin* so teaches the Son to be different from the Father, as that he is not the Father, but a Person distinct from him ; but yet not different from the Father in Nature, for he is upon that account very God, because begotten of God the Father, and that as the Word or Reason of the Father's Mind. For it can't be but that the Reason or Word of the first eternal Mind, *i. e.* of God the Father, should be of the same Nature and Essence with him ; which is the cause why the Primitive Fathers commonly use this same Argument to establish the true Divinity of the Son. The Reader will observe with me, by the way, that it is evident even from this single Place, what *Justin* thought of those, who would have Christ to be a mere Man, and not the first-begotten Son of God, and God. He expressly says, that they who deny the Son to be true God, and personally distinct from God the Father, don't know God the Father, *i. e.* are Strangers to true Religion and Salvation. For it is notorious, that [*not to know the Father*] both in Scripture and in the Primitive Fathers, signifies the same as to be destitute of the saving Knowledge of

(c) Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. Ch. 4.

(d) P. 96.

God the Father. In this sense the Apostle St. *John* (as I have suggested before) says of the Hereticks in his days, who deny'd Christ to be the only-begotten Son of God, *He that denies the Son, hath not the Father.* But that the Sense of this Place may be yet more clear, it is to be observ'd that *Justin*, in the words before spoke of the *Jews*, who contended, that he who appear'd like an Angel to *Moses* in the Bush, and said, [*I am he that is, the God of Abraham, &c.*] was not the Son of God, but God the Father himself. For the *Jews* would not own or worship any Son of God, as being God himself; flattering themselves that in this their Obstinacy they worship'd the one God the Father, and that they were not oblig'd to worship any other. Now *Justin* plainly shews, that these Men stand confuted as well by the Spirit of Prophecy, namely, the Old Testament, as by Christ himself, and that they knew not the Father. Then upon this occasion, he passes, as I think, to the Christian Hereticks, and briefly censures them for teaching that the Son of God was the very Father (of which Heresy some were guilty in *Justin's* time, and some afterwards, as *Praxeas*, *Noetus*, *Sabellius*, and others) concurring herein with the *Jews*, that they did not acknowledge any Son of God, personally distinct from God the Father, who was begotten of God the Father, and consequently was himself God; and upon account of this Heresy, pronounces them, as well as the *Jews*, not to have known God the Father, *i. e.* whatsoever they pretended, to be destitute of the saving Knowledge of Christ. After the Gospel of Christ had been preach'd, and fully explain'd by the Apostles, no one could worship God the Father as he ought, and savingly, unless he also worship'd and reverenc'd God the Son. Does not then this Place of *Justin* as truly affect those, who taught that Christ was a mere Man, or Creature? Without doubt; for they no more acknowledge the Son of God in *Justin's* Sense (who, as he is the Word, the first-begotten Word of God, is also God) than the

Jews, or those Hereticks. But this briefly by the way.

8. I proceed to another Place of *Justin*, in which he professedly handles the Distinction of God the Son from God the Father. It is in that Dialogue with *Trypho*, to which *Episcopus* chiefly appeals. There he relates (e) the Opinion of some, that the Son of God did not subsist distinctly from God the Father, but only as a Power issuing forth from the Parent of the Universe. To their Heresy he opposes the Catholick Opinion, in these words: *I have before, in a few words, shewn that the Power, which the Scripture calls God (as is also proved at large) and Angel, is not only reckon'd nominally, as the Light of the Sun, but is really and numerically another after an exquisite manner. I have there said, that this Power is begotten of the Father by his Power and Purpose, not by Abscission, as tho the Father's Essence was divided, as all other things, being divided or cut, cease to be the same which they were before. But I gave this Example, that we see other Fires kindled from one Fire, that not being at all diminish'd, but remaining the same, and capable of kindling many. Here Justin plainly teaches, that the Son is personally, or numerically, different from the Father, but not so in Nature; as being begotten of the very Essence of God the Father (not indeed by Section, or Partition of the Divine Essence, but by simple Communication of it, such as is between the Fire produced or kindled, and the Fire which produces or kindles it, without any loss or diminution of itself) and consequently a Son consubstantial with his Father, and true God as well as he (f). From what has been said, it is clear that there is the greatest difference between Justin's Opinion and theirs, who taught that Christ was only Man begotten of Man. For, on the one hand, Christ is defin'd to be a mere Creature, nay, nothing more than Man; and,*

(e) P. 358.

(f) You may consult Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. Ch. 4. S. 3, 4.

on the other hand, he is asserted to be the Son of God, coessential with God his Father, and even very God.

9. After these Arguments (which scarce become an honest Man, who is a little read in *Justin*) *Episcopus* gives us a Corollary; in which, if I mistake not, he has destroy'd all his preceding Disputation, himself being Judge. For from what he had before discours'd, he gathers, that *Justin* by those words [*of his own Sort*] did not mean the *Ebionites*. But how does he gather this? *It is by no means probable*, says he, *that Justin intended them by that Phrase, not only because he no where mentions the Ebionites in his Writings, but because they also appear to be the worst of Men; for their Master is reported to have loaded the Apostle St. Paul with Calumnies, to have accused St. Peter of Lying, and to have call'd him partly a Jew, an Essene, a Nazarean, a Cerinthian, and a Carpocratian: And they moreover, as Eusebius relates (g), believed that Christ was born of the Coition of Joseph and Mary, and taught that the Legal Ceremonies must be observ'd.* *Episcopus* then confesses, that it is by no means probable that *Justin* thought the *Ebionites* of his Sort (as that Phrase seem'd to him to import a near Relation and Communion of Faith) because they were the worst of Men, and taught impious Doctrines. Now who does not see that the Learned Man has ruin'd his own Cause by this Confession? For I have very clearly prov'd before, that *Justin* speaks of no other Persons than the *Ebionites*. But it is strange what *Episcopus* could mean, to prove from *Eusebius* that the *Ebionites* believed Christ to be born of the Coition of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and from that to conclude that *Justin* never spoke of the *Ebionites*. Has not *Justin* expressly signify'd, that the Hereticks, of whom he speaks, taught that Christ was Man begotten of Man? Did not *Episcopus* know the meaning of these words? Does not he, who says Christ was

(g) Lib. 3. Cap. 27. p. 79.

Man begotten of Man, at the same time say that Christ was begotten by the Coition of a Man and a Woman, namely, *Joseph* and *Mary*? Surely he who was conceiv'd and form'd by the Holy Ghost in the Womb of a pure Virgin, without the Coition of a Man, could not be Man begotten of Man. Further, it is very frequently declared in this Dialogue what is meant by Christ's being Man begotten of Man. For there (b) *Trypho* prolixly derides the Christian Faith concerning *Jesus* born of the Virgin *Mary*, compares it to the Fables of the *Greeks* concerning *Perseus* born of the Virgin *Danae*, *Jupiter* descending upon her in the Form of Gold; and then adds, *You who talk as they do, should be ashamed of it, and rather say that this Jesus was Man begotten of Man.* Every one may here plainly see the Import of those words, *Man begotten of Man.* In another Place, in the same Dialogue (i), *Justin* proves from the Old Prophets, that Christ was to be born of a Virgin; and from that concludes, that Christ is not Man of Man, begotten in the common way. Lastly, *Justin*, in the very Place before us, plainly tells us what the Hereticks meant, who affirm'd Christ was Man begotten of Man. For he says in the beginning of this Paragraph, that his own, namely, the Catholick Opinion concerning Christ our Lord, was, *That he pre-existed the Son of the Maker of the Universe, and was born Man of the Virgin*; then he subjoins the Opinion of the Hereticks contrary to the Catholick Opinion, *That Christ was Man begotten of Man.* From this it is evident, that those Hereticks deviated from the Truth two ways: 1. As they taught that Christ was only Man, not pre-existing as the Son of God before *Mary*. 2. That Christ was Man begotten of Man, not of the Virgin *Mary* by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit.

From this and other Arguments we may conjecture that *Episcopus* and his Remonstrants read the Passage

(b) P. 291,

(i) P. 274.

of *Justin*, they so greatly boasted of, very hastily first, (hurry'd away with the Sound of Words upon the first hearing, apparently favourable to their Prejudices) and afterwards, neither accurately weigh'd the Words themselves, nor the Context. But however that may be, this is very sure, that the Learned Men have in vain alledg'd it, to prove, *That the Antient Primitive Church of the Christians held Communion with them, who believed and professed that Jesus Christ was only mere Man, Man begotten of Man, and constituted Christ by Election.*

To the most Holy and Undivided Trinity, God the Father, and his coeternal and coessential Word and Son, incarnate for our Salvation, together with the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, be given by Angels and Men all Praise, Honour and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.



THE



THE
Primitive *and* Apostolical
TRADITION,
CONCERNING

The receiv'd Doctrine in the Catholick
Church, of Our Saviour JESUS CHRIST'S
Divinity ;

Asserted and plainly prov'd, against DANIEL ZUCKER,
a *Prussian*, and his late Disciples in *England*.



The INTRODUCTION.



H A T *Jesus Christ*, our Saviour, was
not only Man, but the living and sub-
sisting Word of God, who was with
God before any thing was created, and
therefore eternally ; who was God, by
whom all things were made, that were
made, whether visible or invisible ; and who, in the
fulness of time, was made Flesh for us Men, and for
our

our Salvation, *i.e.* took the true human Nature into the Unity of his Person from the Virgin; is the plain Doctrine of the *New Testament*, propagated and preserv'd by a constant and perpetual Tradition of all the Churches founded by Christ's Apostles. This notwithstanding, there have been, and alas! there are now, even in our own Country, wicked Men, instigated by the Devil, yet pretending Christianity, who not only don't acknowledge this sacred Doctrine, but also oppose it with all their might, and persecute it with the most foul Reproaches and Blasphemies. Our *Ebionites* elude the force of that Scripture-Evidence, which clearly asserts that Christ is God, one one way, and another another. Most of them wrest and pervert those places, as their Fathers did, to a Sense remote from the Context, and the evident Propriety of the Words. But (a) *some are arrived* at that height of impudence and wickedness, (Allies to the *Turks* and *Mahometans* for the destruction of Christianity) as openly and audaciously to affirm, That the Scriptures of the *New Testament* are foully corrupted and interpolated by the Catholick Christians. Even (b) *Socinus*, if he was amongst us again, wou'd excommunicate these Monsters in Christianity. As for Ecclesiastical Tradition, they all contend, that no true Tradition derived from the times of the Apostles can be produced for the Catholick Opinion; that the Apostles and their Successors preach'd the pure naked Gospel, that is, taught their Opinion concerning the mere Humanity of Christ; but that not long after, the Mystery of Iniquity forthwith began to work, and the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel was adulterated by *Platonick* Philosophers who embraced Christianity, and especially by *Justin*.

2. The first Author of this absurd Opinion, if I'm not mistaken, was the Person who wrote the

(a) *The Historical Defence of the naked Gospel, the Preface. The Judgment of the Fathers, &c.* p. 22.

(b) *Socin. Autoritas Scrip. Cap. 1. §. 3.*

Irenicum Irenicorum, a violent Ebionite, one Daniel Zuicker, as the *Anti-trinitarian Bibliothegue* has lately inform'd us. For he in his *Irenicum*, searching into the Original of the Change made in the Apostles Doctrine concerning Christ, gives us this tedious Tale (c) : (1.) It is probable that the Disciples of Simon Magus corrupted the sound Doctrine concerning God and Christ, by feigning a new Generation of Christ, and consequently introducing a new Christ; this (d) Hegesippus attests. Then that those Hereticks made certain Verses under the name of Orpheus, concerning the Word of the Father pronounc'd by him, before the Creation. Further, that Justin first of all deceiv'd by the Arts and Reveries of the Simonians, and relying upon the Orphaic Verses as others did, propos'd his Opinion concerning the Generation of Christ, or the Mind, Word, and Reason of the Father, from the Father, before the Creation, that the World might be made by him, and that he might descend to Men, and at length be made Man. Lastly, that there were several other Causes which might lead Justin and his Followers into this Doctrine; namely, the knowlege of, and affection for the Platonick Philosophy, the memory of Gentilism and many Gods not yet obliterated, the custom of deifying excellent Men, and the superstition and dread of worshipping mere Man, &c. From all which he at last concludes, that he has done the Business, and laid open the Original of the new Production of Christ, and consequently of a new Christ.

3. When I read these things many years ago in the Author of the *Irenicum*, I quickly drew up a short Confutation of the monstrous Fable, not intending it for the Publick; but when I saw not long since, that this stuff of Zuicker's was again brought upon the Stage with pomp and ostentation by our Unitarians, I revised this short Confutation, and, as I had opportunity, enlarg'd it. This so improv'd (upon the Bookseller's Application, that if I had any larger Treatise

(c) *Irenicum*, p. 14, 15, 16.

(d) Euseb. *E. H. Lib.* 4. Cap. 22. p. 115.

ready by me, I would suffer him to print it off with the new Edition of my Works) I offer to thy Candour, Gentle Reader.



C H A P. I.

That Justin was not the first who introduced the Doctrine of our Saviour's Pre-existence before the World was made, and of the Creation of all things by him, into the Christian Churches.

FIRST then, the Author of the *Irenicum* lays this Foundation of his ruinous Structure, That *Justin* introduc'd the Doctrine of the Son's Generation of God the Father before the Creation, into the Christian Churches. For he says, that *Justin* deceiv'd by the delusion of the *Gnosticks*, first propos'd that Opinion. He also says *elsewhere* (e) in express Words : *That no one can be cited more ancient than Justin Martyr, who has in his writings ascrib'd the divine Nature to Christ, and call'd him God before Ages ; and that the Opinion of the Artemonites (who taught that Christ was mere Man) did at least obtain in the Church from the days of the Apostles till Justin's, and then at length was chang'd.* Our late *Socinians*, or as they affect to be call'd *Unitarians*, have follow'd him in this, and especially the Author of a Book wrote in *English*, intitled, [*The Judgment of the Fathers about the Doctrine of the Trinity, against Mr. G. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed*] who frequently in that Treatise, makes *Justin* the first Author of the Doctrine concerning the Son of God coexisting with God the Father before every Creature. But who can believe this Fable ? For besides the great improbability that

(e) *Irenicum Irenicorum*, p. 7.

a very wise and pious Man (such *Justin* was without doubt) could either be so deluded in a Fundamental of Christianity by the Frauds of the worst of Hereticks; or wou'd coin new Doctrines, and introduce a new Faith as different as possible from that of his Ancestors, and Apostolical Tradition, (which he who flourish'd in the first Succession of the Apostles could not but know:) besides this, (which is a sufficient confutation of this wild Fancy) we have other Arguments, which very evidently prove, that the Doctrine of the Son's Pre-existence before the World was made, and of the Creation of all things by him, is not the Figment or Device of *Justin*, but the commonly receiv'd Faith of the Church before his time.

2. First, *Justin* himself, in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho*, expressly witnesseth, that not only he, but the Christians of his days commonly thought and believed that Christ was God before Ages; except a few known Hereticks, who not only deny'd the Pre-existence of our Saviour before Ages, but also his Nativity of the *Virgin* (f). Again, the same *Justin* sets forth his Confession concerning the Divinity of the Son of God, not as his own only, or some private one, but as the publick and notorious Faith and Opinion of all true Christians of his time; and this before the *Roman* Emperor and Senate, as is clear from the Exhortation to the *Gentiles*, and both his Apologies: What then, was this Consent of Christians owing to *Justin* only? Did he travel the World over to preach this Doctrine? Or had he his Apostles to propagate it every where? Cou'd it be that this one Man should destroy the Apostolical Tradition, change the receiv'd Faith of the Church, and obtrude (as *Zuicker* speaks) even a new Christ upon the Christian World? Durst no Disciple of the Apostles oppose this impudent Innovator? Durst not *Poly carp* himself, who had *St. John* for his Master, who

(f) See the place cited entire, and largely explain'd in the Judgment of the Catholick Church, c. 7.

was alive when *Justin* publish'd and defended the Doctrine of the Son's Divinity in his Writings, and who liv'd a long time after? No sober Man can think these things credible.

3. Besides, there are yet extant Writings of the Fathers, who flourish'd some years before *Justin*, even in the Apostolical Age, namely the Catholick Epistle of *Barnabas*, the Shepherd of *Hermes*, and the Epistles of *Ignatius* the Martyr, out of which we have cited clear Testimonies of our Lord's Divinity, and largely defended them from the Cavils of the *Irenicum* (g.) These Writings indeed, the *English* Author beforemention'd entirely despises, and, as his custom is, even reproaches and derides the Authors of them. But the most learned Men, as well Antients as Moderns, have thought otherwise of them, Men whose Judgment is much to be preferr'd before the Censure of that Scoffer. As for the Shepherd of *Hermes*, and the Epistle ascrib'd to *Barnabas*, we constantly affirm these two things of them, what he durst not deny, and which come up to our purpose: (1.) That they are pieces of the most early Antiquity, and prior to *Justin Martyr*. (2.) That they were so far approv'd by the Church, as to be read publickly in the sacred Assemblies, together with the Canonical Scriptures in the primitive days. The seven Epistles of *Ignatius*, known to *Eusebius*, and publish'd in *Greek* by *Is. Vossius* (which only we have used) our very learned *Pearson* has abundantly prov'd to be the genuine Works of the Holy Martyr in his Vindication of them, to which I refer the Reader.

4. Moreover there were learned and pious Men before *Justin*, who set forth Apologies for our Religion against the *Gentiles*, among whom were *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, and *Aristides*, who presented their Apologies to *Adrian* in the beginning of his Reign. These Apologists were oblig'd to vindicate the Chri-

(g) Defence of Nicene Creed, Sect. 2. Ch. 2.

lians from worshipping a Man, and to refute that common Objection, *You worship a Man that was born and crucify'd*. Nor could any of them answer this, without declaring his Opinion concerning our Saviour's Person, and shewing himself either a Catholick, or Heterodox upon that Article. Now (h) *Eusebius* and *Jerome* (i) attest, That *Quadratus* and *Aristides* prov'd themselves Catholicks in their Apologies. Of *Quadratus*, *Eusebius* says (k), *He offer'd his Oration in defence of our Religion to Adrian. It is now extant in the hands of most of our Brethren, and I myself have it. From it you may see plain tokens of the Man's Sentiment, and of Apostolical Orthodoxy.* To *Quadratus*, he adds his Contemporary *Aristides* as one of the same Character. In like manner, *Jerome* calls the Apologetic of *Quadratus* a very useful Book, full of Reason and Faith, and becoming the Apostolical Doctrine. Of *Aristides* also he writes thus in the following Chapter: *Aristides a very eloquent Athenian Philosopher, and a Disciple of Christ, in his former Philosophical Habit, presented a Book to the Emperor Adrian, at the same time Quadratus did, containing an account of our Tenet.* Without doubt then, in *Jerome's* opinion, *Quadratus* and *Aristides* held the Standard and Rule of the Apostolical Faith in their Apologetics. The Force of this Argument in short is this: It is certain the Catholick Church gave divine Honours to our Saviour in the times of *Quadratus* and *Aristides* (and consequently from the beginning) as we shall shew hereafter in this Chapter. It is also certain, that the Heathens did especially object that as a Crime to the Christians; and therefore it was necessary they should obviate this Objection in the first place in their Defences of Christianity. This we see was done by all the Apologists, whose Works we have. Lastly, it is certain that the Catholick Church of Christ (as also the Jewish Church before Christ)

(h) Euseb. Lib. 4. Cap. 3. Pag. 94.

(i) Catalog. Eccles. Scriptor. in Quadrato.

(k) Ibidem.

held it for a Point fix'd and establish'd, That divine Worship was only due to God, and that to pay it to a mere Man, or Creature, was certainly Idolatry; which Decree of the Universal Church we shall hereafter (l) clearly demonstrate in its proper place, to be supported by the Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and by good Reasons.

It follows then, that the Worship and Religion of Christians can't be defended, consistently with the Principles of the Catholick Church, by any one, who does not own that Christ is really God. But *Eusebius* and *Jerome* expressly testify, That the Apologies of *Quadratus* and *Aristides* were truly Catholick, entirely consistent with the Catholick Rule, and the Apostolick Faith. To these you may add, if you please, the Observation of *Petavius* (m), that in the *Roman Martyrology* and that of *Ado*, *Notkerus*, &c. it is reported, That *Aristides the Athenian presented a Book to the Emperor Adrian concerning the Christian Religion, containing the Reason of our Tenets; and that he very clearly and fully discours'd, in the presence of the Emperor, that Jesus Christ was the only God.*

5. I must here also repeat a plain Testimony of *Eusebius* cited before, where he says, he had learnt from the Monuments of antient Authors, that all the fifteen Bishops, who presided over the Church of *Jerusalem* till the times of *Adrian*, were of the Circumcision, and yet receiv'd the genuine Knowledge of Christ: But they only, according to *Eusebius*, receiv'd the genuine Knowledge of Christ, who confess'd, that he pre-existed, being God and the Wisdom. Thus in (n) another place he interprets himself, where he distinguishes the Catholicks and Orthodox from the Heretical *Ebionites*, by this Character, That they [*the Ebionites*] had a low and mean Opinion of Christ. What says the Author of *the Judgment of the Fathers*, &c. to this? Hear him, and you must

(l) Ch. 8.

(m) In præfat. ad Tom. 2. Dogm. Theolog.

(n) Lib. 3. Cap. 27. p. 79.

wonder at his Impudence. *We grant, says he (o), that Eusebius affirm'd those Bishops of Jerusalem profess'd the true Knowledge of Christ; but we answer, that he had this from Hegesippus. Now Hegesippus was himself a Jewish Christian, that is, one of those, who thought our Saviour was a mere Man; therefore when he said the Bishops of Jerusalem profess'd the true Knowledge of Christ, without doubt he meant, that our Lord was truly a mere Man, against the Docetæ, who taught that Christ pre-existed, and deny'd that he was truly Man. But, (1.) he must make Eusebius a dull Creature indeed, a Man of no Parts, nor Judgment, who can think he so foully mistook in citing the Authors, whose Testimonies he made use of. Eusebius says, That he had learnt from the antient Monuments, that the Bishops of Jerusalem, down to Adrian, had receiv'd the genuine Knowledge of Christ, i. e. in his Sense, had acknowledg'd the true Divinity of Christ our Lord. But the Author or Authors he referr'd to, if we may believe this Fellow, intended the direct contrary; namely, that those Bishops were Ebionites, that is, took our Saviour to be only mere Man. (2.) Eusebius (p) does not name Hegesippus, as he used to do, when he cites any thing from him, but only in general says, he had it from the Writings of the Antients. Eusebius had read many other Authors besides Hegesippus, which the large Library at Jerusalem, founded by Alexander, Bishop of that City, afforded him. Of which he thus writes: At the same time, (namely in the Reign of Antoninus) many learned Ecclesiasticks flourish'd, whose Epistles to one another are yet preserv'd, and easy to be found; for they are now in the Library at Ælia, founded by Alexander, Bishop of that City, from which we have been enabled to collect the Matter of our present Work. Besides, Eusebius (q) had also the Use of that noble Library of the Martyr Pamphilus, in which there were Ecclesi-*

(o) P. 43. (p) Lib. 6. Cap. 20. p. 180, & 181.

(q) Lib. 6. Cap. 32. p. 188.

astical Authors collected by the Blessed Man from all parts. (3.) But grant that *Eusebius* wrote this from *Hegesippus*, what then? *Hegesippus*, he says, was an Unitarian, and believ'd our Saviour to be a mere Man. Nothing can be more false. I desire to know from what Author he had his Information? from one *Zuicker* (I suppose) Author of the *Irenicum*, a blind Leader of the Blind. Now that *Hegesippus* was a Catholick, and constantly persisted in the Communion of the Catholick Church, in which the Faith concerning the Divine and Human Nature of Christ obtain'd, we shall evidently prove hereafter in a more convenient place.

6. After the Testimony of *Eusebius* (not in the first place, as the Sophister we have to deal with impudently affirms) we cited a very grave Historian, *Sulpitius Severus*, who expressly (r) says, that the Primitive Church at *Jerusalem*, which had no Bishops but of the Circumcision till *Adrian's* time, believ'd Christ to be God, and observ'd the Law. What says the Trifler to this again? *Whereas*, says he, *Sulpitius* affirms, that those Christians believ'd in Christ as God, I've prov'd that he is mistaken, from the Testimonies of those Fathers, who convers'd with the Jewish Christians, *Origen* and *Theodoret*, and of other Fathers, who were nearer to them than *Sulpitius*, namely *Epiphanius* and *St. Austin*. Sure nothing can be weaker than this Answer. *Sulpitius* speaks of the Primitive Church at *Jerusalem*, which flourish'd under her own Bishops of the Circumcision, till the Destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Adrian*. But did *Origen* and *Theodoret* converse with these Jewish Christians? or were *Epiphanius*, and *St. Austin*, nearer to them than *Sulpitius*? *Sulpitius* expressly affirms, concerning the Christians of the Primitive Church at *Jerusalem*, that they believ'd in Christ as God. *Eusebius* had said the same before him, and that by the Authority of the most antient Ecclesiastical Monuments. Has *Origen*, or *Theodoret*, or *Epiphanius*, or *Austin*, or

(r) Hist. Sacr. Lib. 2. Cap. 45.

any other Father contradicted *Eusebius* and *Sulpitius* in this Point? Not at all. For they speak of the *Jewish Christians*, or *Ebionites*, or *Nazareans*, of their own times, that is, of a much later Age, and very differently. I have in (s) another Place largely discours'd upon the *Nazareans* of the later Ages, and their Opinion concerning the Person of Christ. It will not be amiss, however, just to repeat the Heads of what I have said there, and vindicate them from the Cavils of my troublesome Adversary.

7. First, I have alledg'd *Austin's* Testimony thus: *Austin* in his Book of *Hereses* (t), after he had treated of the *Cerinthians*, who taught, That we must be circumcised, and observe the other like Precepts of the Law; That *Jesus* was only a Man, &c. explains the Tenets of the *Ebionites* and *Nazareans* thus (u): The *Nazareans*, tho they confess Christ to be the Son of God (and therefore in this dissent from the *Cerinthians*, who would have it that he is only Man) yet (in this agreeing with the *Cerinthians*) they observe all the Precepts of the Old Law, which the Christians by Apostolical Tradition have learnt not to observe carnally, but to understand in a spiritual sense. The *Ebionites* also (as well as the *Cerinthians* aforesaid) say that Christ is only Man, observe the Carnal Precepts of the Law, &c. Here it is plain, against all the Cavils of the *Irenicum*, That *Austin* intended to distinguish the *Nazareans* both from the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*, in this, that the *Nazareans* confess'd Christ not only to be Man, as the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites* did, but also the Son of God discretively, and consequently God. Here my Adversary accuses me of Impudence, for inferring from this Testimony of St. *Austin*, that the *Nazareans* thought Christ to be so the Son of God, as that he was born of God before all Ages; whereas I was conscious to myself, that the *Ebionites*, who believ'd Christ to be only mere Man, own'd him to be the Son of God. I reply, that the

(s) Judgment of the Catholick Church, Ch. 2. §. 13, &c.

(t) De Hæresibus, Cap. 8.

(u) Cap. 9, & 10.

Ebionites indeed call'd Christ the Son of God, but not in *Austin's* sense, or that of the *Nazareans*, of whom he speaks. For in this *Austin* plainly distinguishes the *Nazareans* from the *Ebionites*, that the latter deny'd that Christ was the Son of God, but the former own'd it. Does he not plainly oppose the Opinion of the *Nazareans*, who confess'd our Saviour to be the Son of God, to the Opinion of the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians*, who taught that he was only Man? Therefore in the Sense of *Austin* and the *Nazareans*, to own Christ for the Son of God, is the same as to profess that he is not only Man. The Sophister proceeds then as tho he would correct my Interpretation of St. *Austin*, and give his Reader the genuine Text, and Sense of it. But let us recite the very Words of St. *Austin* (x): The *Nazareans*, as they confess Christ to be the Son of God, so they observe the whole Law. The *Ebionites* also say, that Christ is only Man. These words [the *Ebionites* also say that Christ is only Man] would be plainly absurd, unless the *Nazareans*, of whom he spake immediately before, had likewise held that Christ was a mere Man. But this is not reciting *Austin's* own Words, but corrupting and depraving the Integrity of his Text. *Austin* has it [cum, that is, *quanquam* or *tho* ;] instead of that, this Author gives us [*sicut*, or *as* ;] St. *Austin* [*tamen*, or *yet*] he [*ita*, or *so*.] And, what is the top of his Artifice, the Sophister has wholly omitted what *Austin* says in the Chapter just before, concerning the Opinion of the *Cerinthians*, tho, at the same time, his genuine Sense in the following words can't be understood without them. Now if you'll attend to those preceding words, you'll find that St. *Austin's* [*etiam*, or *also*] in explaining the Opinion of the *Ebionites*, plainly belongs to the *Cerinthians*, not the *Nazareans*. Let the learned and impartial Reader consult St. *Austin*, and I doubt not but that he will be of my opinion.

(x) Cap. 9, & 10.

8. To the Testimony of *St. Austin*, I add (y) *Jerome's* Suffrage, who writes thus concerning the *Nazareans* (with whom he was very well acquainted:) *Even now there is a Heresy among the Jews throughout all the Synagogues of the East, call'd the Minei, commonly Nazareans, who believe in Christ, the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; they say he it is that suffer'd under Pontius Pilate, and arose again, in whom we also believe: But whilst they affect to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither.* In these words *Jerome*, as well as *St. Austin*, expressly says that the *Nazareans* believed in Christ the Son of God; and not resting here, he explains himself, affirming that they believed in that Son of God, in which we also [*the Catholicks*] believe: so that in this Point he owns no difference between the *Catholicks* and the *Nazareans*. Mark (if you can, without Horror) what this vile sacrilegious Talker answers to this: *One would have thought* (says he) *when the Nazareans here say that they believed in the Son of God, born of a Virgin, kill'd under Pontius Pilate, and then raised from the Dead, that they sufficiently declared their Meaning, namely, that the Son of God, in whom they believed, was the Man Christ Jesus; not that Son of God which could not be born of a Virgin, could not die and rise from the Dead. But because Jerome adds [in whom we also believe] Dr. Bull cries out, Observe, the Nazareans believed in that Son of God, in whom the Orthodox believed. We own it, Dr. Bull believed in the Son of God born of the Virgin, dead, and raised again. Tho the Orthodox (so call'd) have contriv'd another Son of God also, a Son which could neither be begotten of Mary, nor born, nor die. A Son co-eval with his Father, a secondary Almighty, another Creator, first discover'd and set forth by the Nicene Fathers.* The Sense of this Answer is this: Whosoever professes to believe in the Son of God, born of the Virgin, who suffer'd and died under *Pontius Pilate*; by that declares that he believes in a Son of God, who is only Man,

(y) Ep. 89. ad Augustin.

not

not God. For the Divine Nature being impassible, could not be born of a Virgin, could not die and rise again. But the *Nazareans* profess'd that they believed in the Son of God, born of the Virgin, &c. Therefore they did not believe in the Son of God, who is God. But the Catholick Church of Christ before the Council of *Nice*, and the *Nazareans*, as well as the Catholicks, according to *Jerome*, always believed in the Son of God, who, tho very God, at the time appointed took upon him human Flesh of the Virgin, died in it, and afterwards rose from the Dead. For he says, The *Nazareans* believed in that Son of God, in whom we also [*the Catholicks*] believe. Besides, in that Epistle *Jerome* had, in Imagination, made *Austin* his Adversary upon the Question, and had undertaken plainly to prove, that those, who observed the Ritual Law of *Moses*, were always by the Church deem'd Hereticks. This he first attempts from the Examples of the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*; but conscious to himself, that *Ebion* was condemn'd of Heresy for denying Christ's Divinity, and that *Cerintus* was excommunicated for the same Crime, and many other impious Tenets, he recedes of his own accord from these Examples, and has recourse to another unexceptionable Argument from the *Nazareans*. But why, says he, do I speak of the *Ebionites*, who only pretend Christianity? Even now there is a Heresy, &c. As tho he should have said: You'll perhaps object against the *Ebionites*, and I don't deny it, that they had impious Opinions concerning our Lord Christ, teaching that he was only Man, pretending to be Christians, but really not to be esteem'd such: but then, as to the *Nazareans*, what can you say, who thought as we do concerning our Lord's Person, and yet were accounted Hereticks by the Church, only for their Observance of the Ritual Law (2).

(2) See this more at large in the Judgment of the Catholick Church, Ch. 2. Sect. 13.

9. From *St. Austin* and *Jerome*, I come to an (a) Author much more antient than either of them, who lived in the days of *Adrian*, the Emperor, in whose time the Christian Church at *Jerusalem*, which was of the Circumcision, was expell'd the City, and dispers'd into divers Countries, and who publish'd his Works, not long after that Dispersion; I mean *Justin Martyr*. From his Dialogue with *Trypho*, I evidently gather'd that there were, even in his time, Men, who blended together the Catholick Faith concerning Christ, namely, that he was the Son of God, who existed before all Creatures, and in the appointed time was incarnate for the Salvation of Men, and made Man of the Virgin, &c. with the Observation of the Ritual Law of *Moses*; but yet did not impose the Necessity of observing this Law upon others, *i. e.* the *Gentile Christians*. To these *Justin* professes himself ready to give the hand of brotherly Charity and Communion. Now I say, that these were no other than the *Nazareans*, or *Jerusalem Christians*, who were expell'd their own Country by *Adrian*. What says the brazen Author to this? *I answer*, says he (b), *whoever they were, they were not Nazareans. Most of the Gnosticks acknowledg'd the Pre-existence of Christ, and observ'd the Law of Moses; Why might they not be Cerinthians?* This is as much as to say: Whatsoever you prove, I'll keep close to my Prejudices. I'll forge, or I'll believe any thing rather than that the *Nazareans* own'd Christ's Divinity. But here are many Reasons, why these could not be either *Cerinthians*, or any other Sect of the *Gnosticks*. (1.) Those Christians, spoken of by *Justin*, confess the true Incarnation of the Son of God, which neither the *Cerinthians*, nor any other Sect of the *Gnosticks* own'd (c). Again, the Christians *Justin* speaks of, held the Orthodox Faith in all Points necessary to

(a) See Judgment of the Catholick Church, in the Place cited, Sect. 14.

(b) Judgment of the Fathers, p. 44.

(c) See the Defence of the *Nicene Creed*, Sect. 3. Ch. 1. §. 6. and the Judgment of the Catholick Church, Ch. 2. Sect. 4.

Salvation, and in nothing dissented from the Catholic Church of Christ, unless that they religiously observed the *Mosaical Rites*. On the other hand, the *Cerinthians* and other *Gnosticks* so adulterated almost all the Christian Religion, that there was scarce one Article of Faith free from their Corruptions. Besides, the *Cerinthians* and other judaizing *Gnosticks*, as well as the *Ebionites*, taught the necessity of observing the *Mosaical Law*. But the Doctrine and Sentiment of *Justin's* judaizing Christians was quite contrary. Lastly, *Justin* held those *Judaizing Christians* to be Brethren, and hoped well of their Salvation. But it is evident the Holy Man absolutely abhorred the *Cerinthians* and other *Gnosticks* as pestilent Hereticks from the Church of Christ, and Aliens from Salvation by Christ. I am of opinion; our Adversary was ashamed of this silly Answer, and therefore sought another Refuge: Besides, says he, it is uncertain whether *Justin* intended to say that there were some Christians who observed the Law of Moses, and yet believed the Pre-existence of Christ before Ages. To draw this Sense from him, Dr. Bull is forced to add these Words to his [the Christ, such a one as you have described just now, &c.] Now he who with diligence and attention shall read the entire Context of *Justin's* Words, will see that I have put no force upon them. *Trypho* had propos'd to *Justin* some Questions concerning the Salvation of good Men, both before and under the ritual Law. *Justin* answers, that both shall be saved in the World to come; and in the Conclusion of his Answer to these Questions, he describes that Faith concerning Christ, which is requisite to the Salvation of a Christian, and says it is, To believe that Christ is the Son of God, who was before *Lucifer* and the Moon, and being made Flesh of a Virgin of the Lineage of *David*, condescended to be born, &c. Afterwards immediately follows *Trypho's* Question, Whether those who believe in Christ, and together with that Belief, retain the Observation of the ritual Law of *Moses*, can be sav'd? Now
who

who can doubt but that he means the same Faith in Christ here, as he had before described? I have therefore rightly paraphras'd Trypho's Question thus: *But if there be any, who will now live in the Observation of the Mosaical Law, and believe in this crucified Jesus, owning him to be that Christ of God, (which you have but now described) can they also be saved?*

10. Lastly, I brought an Evidence from the sixth Book of the Apostolical Constitutions, cap. 12. intitled, *Against those that confess, but will Judaize.* Confess what? The Faith explain'd in the Chapter immediately going before this, and especially that part of it which is repeated in the end of the Chapter: *We confess that Christ is not a mere Man; but God the Word, and Man, the Mediator of God and Man.* From this I gather, that in the Age in which the Author of the Constitutions liv'd, there were some who confest Christ to be God and Man, and yet did so far Judaize, and dissent from other Christians, as still to adhere to the ritual Law of *Moses*. These I say were the very *Nazareans*. To this the Adversary answers: *Before Dr. Bull convinces us of this, it lies upon him to prove, that there were no Christians besides the Nazareans, who observ'd the Law of Moses, and believ'd also that Christ was God the Word;* but he well knew that the *Cerinthians*, and almost all the Sects of the *Gnosticks*, both Judaiz'd and also believ'd the pre-existence of our Saviour, and that he was God the Word. He that could write this, discovers his own gross Ignorance of Ecclesiastical History, or his consummate Impudence. Neither the *Cerinthians*, nor any other Sect of the *Gnosticks*, sincerely acknowledg'd that Christ was God the Word and Man, the Mediator of God and Men. See what we have said upon the Testimony, cited in the last Section from *Justin*. Besides, in the Confession recited Cap. 11. and referr'd to in the Title of the 12th Chap. there is not one Article which the *Cerinthians*, or any other Sect of the *Gnosticks* could sincerely subscribe or acknowledge. In the very beginning

ning of the Confession, the Root of the *Cerinthian* Heresy, and that of all the other *Gnosticks*, is struck at : *We preach one only God, the Lord of the Law and the Prophets, the Maker of the Universe, and the Father of Christ.* To this we have a parallel Place following : *One God the Father of one Son, not more, and thro' Christ of our Paraclete ; the Maker of other Orders ; one Creator, Maker of the different Creatures by Christ, who also is the Procurator and Lawgiver by him.* Upon this account, the Sophister distrusting this his Answer, quickly goes off from it, and begins a new Question by way of diversion, concerning the Author of the Constitutions, Whether he was a Catholick, or tainted with *Arianism* ? I've declar'd my Opinion freely in this Matter elsewhere (d). Now as for the Confession of Faith contain'd in the 11th Chapter, the sagacious Reader may easily perceive in it some tincture of *Arianism*, and also something which no *Arian* can truly and sincerely profess. Of this kind is the Author's discretive Profession, That God is the Father of Christ, but the Maker of all other things by Christ. This is more clearly express'd, where the Article of the Christian Faith, concerning the only begotten Son of God, is thus explain'd : *And in the Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, begotten, not made ; by whom all things were made.* In which words, Christ the Son of God is absolutely excepted out of the Rank of Creatures, and therefore is acknowledg'd to be true God. But grant that the Author in the recited Confession has shewn himself an *Arian*, it will not necessarily follow, that those who confess'd it, mention'd in the Title of the following Chapter, should also be *Arians* : for it is clear, that the Author intended to give us in that Chapter, the entire Rule of Faith, every where receiv'd by the Christian Churches in his days ; but it is also clear, that he has given us that Rule by way of Paraphrase, and thrown in his own Explications

(d) Def. N. C. Sect. 2. Ch. 3. §. 6.

here and there. Now it is manifest that he might confess that Rule of Faith, who would not admit of all the Author's (or rather Interpolator's) Glosses.

11. I return now to what my Adversary's Digression forced me to leave. It is very plain from what has been before cited from the Antients, that the Christians of the Primitive Church at *Jerusalem*, who were of the Circumcision, had receiv'd the genuine Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, *i. e.* had own'd his true Divinity; and that the same Faith continued in that Church, till the dispersion under the Emperor *Adrian*. Now if the Doctrine of our Saviour Christ's Divinity was own'd, and always receiv'd in the Church of *Jerusalem*, the Mother of all other Churches; and was faithfully preserv'd in it as long as it stood: it can't be doubted but that the same Faith was propagated and dispers'd in all the other Churches, which either the Apostles themselves, or their Ministers founded and constituted.

12. Lastly, it is plain from the Epistle of *Pliny Junior*, to *Trajan*, wrote in the Year 106, that the Christians of his times were wont in their Assemblies to celebrate the Divinity of our Saviour in Hymns and Psalms. This he reports from the Confession of apostate Christians in these words; *Now they affirm'd that this was the Sum of their Crime, or their Error, that they usually met together upon a set day before it was light, and sung an alternate Hymn to Christ, as to God.* An old grave Author has appealed to these Psalms against the *Artemonites*, who rejected the Tenet of our Lord's true Divinity as novel: *The Psalms and Songs of the Brethren celebrate Christ the Word of God, calling him God.* And these Psalms supply'd such clear and evident testimony of Christ's true Divinity, acknowledged by the Apostolical and Primitive Church, that *Paulus Samosatenus*, the reviver of *Artemon's* Blasphemy, could not bear them, and therefore commanded the abolition of them in all the Churches under his Government, as the *Antiochian* Fathers, assembled against him, testify in
their

their Synodical *Epistle*. I doubt not but that the Apostle St. Paul had an eye to some such Hymns in his *Epistle to the Ephesians*, (e) where he writes, *Speaking to one another in Psalms and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, singing and making melody with your Hearts to the Lord [Christ.]* By the way, let the Reader observe, that the Words *Pliny* uses concerning the Christians, that they were wont [*dicere secum invicem*] to sing an alternate Hymn to Christ, as God, exactly answer to St. Paul's [*ἀλλήντες ἑαυτοῖς*] *speaking to one another*, &c. By them the alternate, or responsory way of singing, as yet frequently used in the Churches, seems to be signified. From what has been said in this Chapter, we have establish'd it beyond all Controversy, that the Tenet of our Lord's Divinity was not the Invention of *Justin Martyr*, but obtained in the Christian Churches long before him; yea, was every where delivered and promulged by the first Preachers of the Gospel, together with the Gospel, of which it makes no small part. Q. E. D.



CH A P. II.

That Justin was not deceiv'd by the Frauds of the Simonians, and that the Tenet of Christ's Divinity did not proceed from the School of Simon.

HAVING rased the Foundation, the monstrous Pile the *Irenicum* has built upon it, falls of itself. For whereas it is as evident as possible, that *Justin* was not the Invention of the Son's Generation before the World was made; and that that Tenet obtained long before *Justin* was born, even in the Apostolical Age; it would not be necessary carefully to

(e) *Ephes. Ch. 5. ver. 19.*

examine what led *Justin* into this erroneous Sentiment. But because we have determined to follow this Author, step by step, both that his own perverse Blindness may appear the more, and that the Truth may be better illustrated; therefore we will freely discuss the several Causes he has pretended. Now these Causes are either primary, such as did especially lead *Justin* into this suppos'd Error; or secondary, which contributed to his making further Advances in it. The Heretick reckons these two of the first kind, (1.) The Heresy of the *Simonians*, and, (2.) The Verses made in *Orpheus's* Name by those Hereticks.

2. Of the former he writes thus (f): *And first it is probable that after the Death of the Apostles, as (g) Hegesippus says, some Christians, false Christs, false Prophets, and false Apostles, descended of those seven Heresies among the Christian People (h), which the said Hegesippus mentions in the same place, and whose Leader and Chief he makes Simon Magus the Samaritan, (a Man in his own Samaritan turn, not averse to the mixture of true Worship with false) first divided the Unity of the Church with feigned perverse Doctrine (Note, these are the very words of Hegesippus) against God and Christ; and (as will appear hereafter from the Doctrine of Simon Magus) corrupted the sound Doctrine concerning God and Christ, by feigning a new Generation of Christ, and introducing a new Christ. For all the Ecclesiastical Historians to a Man testify of Simon Magus, that he was the first Opposer of Christ, the first that denied Jesus to be the Christ and Redeemer, such an one as died for our Sins; and on the other hand asserted, that he alone was the Son, who appeared among the Jews, and the Father who descended in Samaria, and the Holy Ghost who came among the Gentiles: That he descended, transfigured; that among Men he appeared indeed as Man, tho' he was not Man; that he was supposed to have suffered in Judea, tho' he did not suffer; that he was the infinite Power; that*

(f) *Irenicum*, p. 14.

(g) *Eusebius*, lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 116.

(h) *Among the Jewish People, he should have said. See Valesius, p. 79, and 80, in Euseb.*

Selene was the first Conception of his Mind (for he called the second, the Voice and Comprehension of Mind; and the third, Reason or Thought) that she was the Mother of all things, by whom in the beginning he had thought to make Angels, and Archangels. For he said, that this Thought or Notion going out from him, and knowing the Mind of her Father, descended into the lower Regions, and made Angels and those Powers by which the World was made. Then he adds, that Justin was deceived by this dotage of the Simonians.

3. But this Conjecture is very far from all probability. For first, what has Christ to do with Belial, Light with Darkness, and the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, with the most notorious Hereticks? It is certain that all the Prelates and Doctors of the Church, who succeeded the Apostles, (and by consequence all the Christians, who adher'd to them) always heartily abhor'd the Simonian Heresy; so that they would sooner fetch Fire from Hell, than any Doctrine from his Forge. Their Writings now extant sufficiently prove this. But that Justin was especially free from this Blot, is manifest, (if from no other place) from that in his Dialogue with Trypho (i), where having mentioned the Gnosticks under the Title of Nominal Christians, who claimed to themselves a Liberty of eating things offer'd to Idols, he concludes that in this that Prophecy of Christ is fulfilled, in which he foretold that false Christs, and false Apostles should arise, deceiving many of the Faithful. Moreover, he adds concerning them, *With whom have no Communion, knowing them to be atheistical and impious.* In another place he says (k), that Christ foreknew what would happen after his Resurrection and Ascension, that many false Prophets, and false Christs, would come in his Name, (under the Mask of a Christian Profession;) *Which, says he, is now come to pass; for there are many who have pretended his Stamp upon atheistical, blasphemous and unjust*

(i) P. 252.

(k) P. 308.

Tenets, who have taught, and even now teach those things in the Name of Christ, which were put into their Minds by that impure Spirit the Devil (l). Lastly, in his second Apology (m), he particularly names *Simon* and other Hereticks, who came out of the School of Christ; he censures and abhors them as the Pests of Christianity. But alas, the Wickedness of our Days! Who would have thought that *Justin*, the most excellent Doctor of the Church, who not only wrote very learned Books against all Heresies, but also seal'd the truly Apostolical Faith with his Blood, should have been suspected as impos'd upon by the worst of Hereticks in a primary Doctrine of Christianity?

4. But secondly, it is so far from true, that the Doctors of the Church took their Opinion of the Son's Divine Generation from the Fictions of the *Simonians*, that it is manifest the Hereticks dress'd up their Fictions (as every Error is the Imitation of some Truth) in the Garb of the Church, (transferring her Doctrine into their Scheme :) The Case is clear. From whence, I beseech you, was that blasphemous Assertion of *Simon's*, that he only was the Son who appear'd among the Jews, the Father who descended in *Samaria*, and

(l) P. 69, & 70.

(m) Nay, further in the same Dialogue, he does not only mention the seven Heresies of the Jews, spoken of by *Zuicker* (p. 307.) but also expressly rejects *Simon Magus* as an Heresiarch, and a false Christian (p. 349.) in these words: Neither did I make any account of my own Countrymen, the Samaritans, but when I wrote to *Cesar*, affirm'd that they were led into Error, by giving credit to *Simon Magus* their Countryman, who, they say, is God above all Principality, and Power, and Might. Here *Justin* has an eye partly to the Place of the Apology cited by the Reverend Author, partly to another, which stands thus in the Apology, commonly call'd the first, p. 52. And I despis'd my Countryman *Simon's* impious and erroneous Doctrine. Moreover, that the Heresy of *Simon* and his Followers was professedly oppos'd by *Justin*, and refuted in writing, he himself informs us in the Apology, commonly entitled the Second, where (p. 70.) after he has named *Simon*, *Menander*, and lastly *Marcion*, he adds, There is also a Piece of mine compos'd against all the Heresies that have been.

the

the Holy Ghost who came upon the *Gentiles*? From whence was it taken, if not from the receiv'd Doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Trinity, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? Where had the same *Simon* that impious Tenet, that Jesus appear'd to Men as Man, tho he was not so; and seem'd to have suffer'd in *Judea*, when he did not suffer; but from the Apostolical Doctrine concerning Christ, as God and Man? For without doubt that Impostor would in vain have taught, that he was not true Man, if the Apostles had taught that he was only mere Man. Lastly, that Exposition of *Cerinthus* (as *Zuicker* calls it) that Christ the Son of God descended into Jesus, when baptized, in the Form of a Dove, from that Principality which is over all, and in him wrought Miracles, and at his Passion flew back again from Jesus into the Heavens to the Father; whence came this Exposition, but from the Apostolical Tradition of a Distinction betwixt the Divine and Human Nature in Christ? Nay, both these Fancies, that of *Simon* concerning the imaginary Body of Christ, and that of *Cerinthus* concerning the Separation of the Son of God from the Man Jesus, seem therefore to have been more pleasing to many, because that venerable Mystery of the Divine and Human Nature in the one Person of Christ, deliver'd by the Apostles, appear'd to them (as it doth to our modern Hereticks) absurd, and contrary to sound Reason. For upon this account they thought it necessary either quite to take away one Nature, or to separate the one from the other. Let my Reader weigh these things attentively, and then, if he is not dull indeed (as *Zuicker* says) he will certainly think as I do.

5. Moreover, the very Words of *Hegeſippus*, upon which *Zuicker* lays so great a stress, namely [*That the Hereticks forged perverse Doctrines against God and Christ*] plainly hint that the Doctrine concerning God the Father and his Son, did not come from the School of *Simon*; but, on the contrary, that *Simon* warpt the

Apostolical Doctrine to his own wicked Tenets. Observe, *Hegesippus* does not say concerning God and Christ, but *against* God and Christ. That Magician, in an extraordinary blasphemous manner, accommodated the Apostolical Tradition concerning the Father and the Son to himself, his prostitute *Helena* and other Powers of his own Imagination. For he said (according to (n) *Irenæus*) against God the Father, that he was the most sublime Power; *i. e.* the Father, who is above all, and suffer'd himself to be call'd, whatsoever Men call the Father. Then he asserted against Christ, that *Helena*, his first *ἐννοια*, Notion, or Idea, made Angels, and the Powers by whom he said the World was made; that Men were saved by his Grace, &c.

6. I cannot now but admire how *Hegesippus* comes to be cited as a Witness for the Author of the *Irenicum*, whereas no Antient more plainly shews the Vanity and Falshood of his Conjecture. For he expressly witnesseth, that in his Age the Governours of the Church held the Apostolical Doctrine pure and entire; for after he had told us what Churches he had been to see, and how many Bishops of the *Roman* Church especially, that most eminent Patriarchate he had visited, he adds: *In every Succession, and in every City, it stands so, as the Law, and the Prophets, and the Lord teach.* Now when did *Hegesippus* live? Without doubt he was Contemporary with *Irenæus*, for he expressly mentions Pope *Eleutherus* (in whose time *Irenæus* certainly flourish'd) as succeeding *Soter* in the Episcopal See; so that *Jerome* must be clearly mistaken in bringing him back to the times of *Adrian*, being deceiv'd, I doubt not, by (o) *Eusebius*, who has committed the same Error, *Book the 4th, Chapter the 8th of his History*: and afterwards (p), as tho correcting his false Chronology, places *Hegesippus* in the times of *Marcus*

(n) Lib. 1. Cap. 20. p. 115, & 116. (o) Euseb. E. H. Lib.

4. C. 8. p. 98. Valef. Not. (p. 56.) in locum,

(p) C. 21. p. 115.

Antoninus. How well now has *Zuicker* play'd his game from *Hegesippus*? He asserts that the Doctors of the Church, especially *Justin*, being deceiv'd by the Whimfies of the *Simonians*, chang'd the Apostolical Doctrine. But lo! *Hegesippus* witnesseth, that the Apostolical Doctrine was preserv'd whole and entire by the Doctors in every Church down to his times, (*i. e.* to the times of *Irenæus*) *i. e.* till about thirty Years after *Justin's* days. Sure this Author would never have appeal'd to *Hegesippus*, if he had been well acquainted with him; doubtless he had form'd a hasty, erroneous Notion of this antient Writer. But this I shall reserve to be proved in the following Chapter.



C H A P. III.

Concerning Hegesippus, and his Opinion of the Person of Jesus Christ.

THE Author of the *Irenicum* speaks every where of *Hegesippus* as a Man of his own Sentiments, *i. e.* as an *Ebionite*; one of those who confess our Saviour's Conception of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, but deny the Pre-existence of God the Word, before Ages. All our present *Socinians* in *England* follow him, and claim this very antient famous Author for their own; they lay this Foundation, and build upon it certain strange Conclusions, which, if true, would be sufficient to overthrow that Apostolical Tradition of the real Divinity of our Lord, which we assert. From these especially, the Author of the *Judgment of the Fathers* (q) contends strenuously that *Hegesippus* was certainly an *Ebionite*, and has endeavour'd to confirm it by some shallow Reasonings, which we propose now to examine.

(q) *Judgment of the Fathers*, &c. p. 41, 42.

2. First, he says, *Hegesippus was a Jewish Christian, as Eusebius testifies; but all the Jewish Christians, according to Origen, were Ebionites; therefore deny'd the Divinity of our Saviour.* I answer, If by a *Jewish Christian*, the Sophister means a Christian who mix'd the Observation of the Ritual Law of *Moses* with the Faith of Christ, it is absolutely false that *Eusebius* ever wrote that *Hegesippus* was such a one. This is all he says in the Place cited, that *Hegesippus* from his Writings might be concluded to be a Believer of *Hebrew* Extraction. But that he was not such a *Jewish Christian*, as he would make him, we are assur'd from *Hegesippus* himself (r), who says, that, as he went to *Rome*, he visited many Christian Churches of the *Gentiles*, and communicated with them, but that when he came thither, he continued very long in the Communion of that famous Church. Hence (s) *Eusebius* expressly says, that he flourish'd in the Church, *i. e.* in the same Catholick Church, in which *Irenaeus* and others, Men undoubtedly Catholick, flourish'd at the same time, and Men with whom he is join'd. But those Christians of the *Jews*, who, together with the Faith of Christ, retain'd the Observation of the Ritual Law, neither could, nor would live in Communion with any Church of the *Gentiles*. Besides, it is not true that the *Jews*, who received the Faith of Christ, and persevered in the Observation of the *Mosaical* Law, were all *Ebionites*, *i. e.* deny'd the Divinity of Christ; nor does *Origen* say any such thing (t).

3. Our *Ebionite* proceeds in his Argument thus: Secondly, the same *Eusebius* in the same place says, that *Hegesippus* used the *Hebrew Gospel* of *St. Matthew*, which was used by the *Ebionite* and *Unitarian Christians* only. I answer: *Eusebius* indeed says, that *Hegesippus* cited some things out of the Gospel of the *Hebrews*; but he does not say that he used that Gospel, as the

(r) Lib. 4. Cap. 22. p. 116.

(s) Lib. 4. C. 21. p. 115.

(t) Judgment of the Catholick Church, C. 2. Sect. 18.

Ebionites used it, i. e. deem'd it Canonical. Now if to cite some things from the Gospel to the *Hebrews*, is a sure Token of an *Ebionite*, then very many Authors may be esteem'd *Ebionites*, who, of our certain knowledge, are Catholicks, and abhorred that Heresy entirely. Then *Jerome*, that strenuous Assertor of the Son's Consubstantiality, was an *Ebionite*. For he often cites that Gospel, and translated it, as he himself testifies, into the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues. Upon this account *Julian the Pelagian* (u) accuses *Jerome* for using a Testimony out of the fifth Gospel, which he himself had translated into *Latin*. Then (x) *Origen* was an *Ebionite*, tho he rejected the *Ebionites* of both Sorts as Hereticks, and Aliens from the Church of Christ. For *Jerome* says, that *Origen* very often used the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. Besides, *Papias*, as *Irenæus* (y) says, a Disciple of St. *John's*, and a Companion of *Polycarp's*, hath given us a pretty long Account of the Discourse betwixt our Saviour, and the Woman taken in Adultery, which was only to be found in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, as *Eusebius* (z) tells us. Now all the antient Catholick Authors that have mention'd *Papias*, however of mean Abilities, and erroneous in some Points, testify that he was a Catholick, and constantly maintain'd the Rule of Faith. Lastly, to mention no more, the blessed *Ignatius*, an excellent Defender of the great Mystery of Godliness concerning God incarnate, against the Hereticks of his days, has some things in his Epistle to the *Smyrnæans*, which (a) *Eusebius* confesses he cannot trace. In the Epistle to the *Smyrnæans*, says he, speaking of our Saviour Christ, he recites some words, which I can't tell where to find: But I know and believe, says he, that our Lord appear'd in the Flesh after his Resurrection, and when he was come to Peter and his other Companions,

(u) Catalogus Script. Eccles. in Jacobo, Fratre Domini.

(x) Contra Cels. Lib. 5. p. 272.

(y) Lib. 5. Cap. 33.

p. 498. (z) Lib. 3. Cap. 39. p. 91.

(a) Lib. 3. Cap. 36. p. 86, & 87.

said to them, Lay hold of me, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal Spirit. And immediately they handling him, believed. Now this is taken from the Gospel to the Hebrews, as (b) Jerome has acquainted us, tho (c) Eusebius knew nothing of it.

4. His third Argument is thus contracted by himself: Hegesippus giving a Catalogue of the Hereticks, who were either of the Jews or Gentiles, makes no mention of the Cerinthians or Ebionites in it, which, without doubt, he would have done, if he had believed the Pre-existence and Divinity of our Saviour. It is intolerable to see a Man trifle in Matters serious, and of great importance. For, 1. Does he really believe that Hegesippus in the Place cited (d), intended to give a full and compleat Catalogue of all the Hereticks, who disturbed the Church in his time, or who were by him thought to be Hereticks? If so, he knew nothing of Irenæus's Heresiology, who was Contemporary with Hegesippus. 2. Does he seriously believe that Hegesippus did not think the Cerinthians were Hereticks? Then he who has presumed to give us the Judgment of the Fathers, is as ignorant as can be of Cerinthus's Tenets, and a perfect Stranger in the Writings of the Antients. Cerinthus taught, besides his Error in common with Ebion concerning Christ's mere Humanity, other absurd and impious Tenets. For he affirm'd, as we said before, that this visible World was not made by the supreme God, but by inferior Powers, or Angels that did not know that God; That the Angel, who gave the Law by Moses to the Israelites, was an evil Angel, &c. Yea, (e) Epiphanius says, that he defended almost all the shocking Errors of Carpocrates, and in this only differ'd from that Monster, that he observ'd the Mosaical Rites, not cordially, but for convenience sake, to curry favour with the Jews, and escape their Persecutions (f). What say you now?

(b) Hieronym. in Ignatio.

(c) Euseb. ibidem.

(d) Lib. 4. Cap. 22. p. 115, 116.

(e) Hæres. 28.

(f) Defence of the Nicene Creed, Sect. 3. Ch. 1. S. 7.

Did not *Hegesippus* account such a Prodigy of a Man a Heretick? Lastly, by this very Argument it may as well be proved, that *Justin Martyr* was an *Ebionite*, or an *Unitarian*, that is, deny'd the Pre-existence and Divinity of our Saviour. For *Justin*, in his Disputation with *Trypho*, reckons up as many *Jewish* Heresies as *Hegesippus*, namely seven, tho he calls them by different Names (g). These are his words: *Neither can any one, that rightly considers the Matter, call the Sadduces Jews, or such Hereticks, as the Genists, the Merists, Galileans, Hellenians, the Pharisees and Baptists. Here the Cerinthians and Ebionites are omitted. He particularly reckons up some Hereticks which rose among the Christians, in another (h) Place of the same Dialogue; namely, Marcionites, Valentinians, Basilidians, and Saturnilians. Here again no mention is made of the Cerinthians and Ebionites. Hence some Person may argue thus: Justin giving an account of the Hereticks, Jewish and Christian, does not reckon the Cerinthians and Ebionites among them, which, without doubt, he would have done, if he had believed the Pre-existence and Divinity of our Saviour. Yet who is there that does not know that Justin not only believed it himself, but also vehemently and strenuously defended it against both the Jews and Judaizing Christians. You'll say that Justin names some Christian Hereticks, and adds [with others of other Names.] I own it. And does not Hegesippus the same? Yes indeed. For after he has named some Christian Hereticks, he adds immediately: And from these [have sprung] false Christs, false Prophets, false Apostles, who have broke the Unity of the Church by pernicious Words against God and Christ. In which words are certainly comprehended all the Hereticks, who rose after the aforementioned, and from them.*

5. This is the last of our Sophister's Arguments: *Valesius*, says he, confesses that *Hegesippus's Ecclesiastical*

(g) *Justin*, p. 307.

(h) P. 253.

History was neglected by the Antients, and therefore perish'd, because it was found too greatly to favour the Unitarians. It is absolutely false that ever Valesius confess'd this: He only says this in general (i), That the Writings of Hegesippus and other Antients were neglected, and so perish'd upon account of the Errors with which they abounded. These are his words, Being neglected upon account of the Errors with which they (Clement's Hypotyposes) abounded, at length they were lost. The same reason, I judge, may be given for the loss of Papias, Hegesippus, and other Antients. As for Hegesippus, I know not what Errors of his Valesius intends or suspects. For the ancient Catholick Authors that had read his Works, (Men we must believe rather than Valesius) commended them (as we shall see hereafter) for orthodox, useful, and worth reading. Thus much (by way of Examination) for the Sophister's petty Reasonings. We shall now do them the further honour, light and trifling as they are, to oppose to them the Testimonies of the Antients for Hegesippus, who reckon'd him among the Catholicks, even among the greatest Ornaments of the primitive Catholick Church.

6. First then, *Eusebius*, who was oblig'd to his Collections, and transcribed very many things out of the Commentaries of *Hegesippus* into his History, makes honourable mention of him every where, and often, in an extraordinary and especial manner, commends his Orthodoxy. Now if *Hegesippus* had been an *Ebionite*, *Eusebius* would never have done so; for he held even those *Ebionites*, who acknowledg'd the Conception of Christ of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, but deny'd that he pre-existed as God the Word and Wisdom before Ages, for impious Hereticks, as I have shewn *elsewhere* (k). Nay, he extols him as a brave Champion of the Catholick Faith against the Hereticks of his time. A glorious Champion indeed, and a

(i) *Annot. in Euseb. p. 85.*

(k) *Judgment of the Catholick Church, Chap. 2. Sect. 11.*

Heretick himself! Hear *Eusebius* (l): *In those times again the Truth had many Defenders, who contended for her not only in Words, but in written Controversy against the impious Heresies. Among these, Hegesippus was famous, an Author we have made great use of in our former Books, having been oblig'd to his credit and report for what was done in the Apostolical Times. He has given us Memoirs of the Apostolical Preaching in five Books, written with good Credit, and great Simplicity. There is another place parallel to this (m): In the same times, Hegesippus, whom we have mention'd in the former Books, flourish'd in the Church; and Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, and Pinytus of Crete, besides Philip and Apollinaris, and Melito, and lastly Irenæus, all whose Orthodox Writings are come to our hands, and give us apostolical Tradition, and sound Faith. But in the beginning of the following Chapter (n), he again adds: Hegesippus indeed, in the five Books of Commentaries, which are come down to us, hath left us the most ample Testimony of his Faith.*

7. What has our Adversary now to oppose to these plain Testimonies of *Eusebius*? After he has produc'd the Arguments, by which he would prove *Hegesippus* an Unitarian, he immediately adds: *If it be objected, Did Eusebius know nothing of this, for he every where makes honourable mention of Hegesippus? I answer, he knew it very well, but he durst not tell it; it was not for Eusebius to reprove an Apostolical Father; it was only for him to dissemble what the Unitarians, and especially his own Adversary Marcellus, would not have neglected to use in Defence of their Cause. Who in his Senses is not amaz'd at this Answer? Sure, if Hegesippus had been an Ebionite, and Eusebius knew it, he not only did amiss in dissembling it, but also told a direct lye; for he not only does not say that he was an Ebionite, but he expressly says the contrary, namely, that he was entirely Catholick, and had given us the Apostolical Doctrine* ol.

(l) Lib. 4. Cap. 7, and 8. p. 98.

(m) Cap. 21. p. 115.

(n) Cap. 22.

and Tradition clear and sincere in his Writings. Nay, he has told a most impudent Falshood ; for the Commentaries of *Hegefippus* were not read by *Eusebius* only, but were common, at least among the Learned ; as being greatly celebrated both for the venerable Antiquity of their Author, and the very useful Matter of which they treated, namely, what happen'd in the days of the Apostles, and the first Succession after them ; and upon these accounts, very agreeable to all Lovers of Antiquity. *Eusebius* could not safely lye in this Matter, because he might easily be convicted of the most manifest Falshood ; and the Fraud being discover'd, would have expos'd himself to the hatred of all Lovers of Truth. Again, it is very ridiculous to say, *Eusebius* durst not reprove *Hegefippus*, because he was an apostolical Father ; for, if *Hegefippus* had indeed been an *Ebionite*, he cou'd not have pass'd for an apostolical Father with the Catholick Church, to which it was *Eusebius*'s Interest to recommend himself. Lastly, *Eusebius* wou'd have offended both the Catholicks and Hereticks by this Lye of his ; the Catholicks by commending an Heretick so greatly, and the Hereticks, by depriving them of so great an Advocate, and pretending he was of the other Side. I am asham'd to dwell so long upon such manifest Trifles. To proceed therefore :

8. Not only *Eusebius*, but other antient Catholick Writers, have given testimony that *Hegefippus* was Orthodox. Thus * *Jerome* not only praises him for the great Sanctity of his Life, but also recommends his Writings (which he had read) as containing very useful Things. For in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers he thus speaks of *Hegefippus* : ' He liv'd near the ' Apostles days, and has put together all that was done ' in the Church from our Lord's Passion, till his own ' Times, and hath collected from several Places many ' useful Things. His Work is made up of five Books

* Catalogus Script. Eccles. in *Hegefippo*.

‘ in a plain Style, as tho’ he had study’d to express
 ‘ their Lives, whom he imitated in the manner of his
 ‘ writing.’ Now if *Jerome* had found any Tares of
 Heresy in the Works of *Hegesippus*, mix’d with the
 good Grain of pure Doctrine, without doubt he
 wou’d have caution’d his Reader against them; if he
 had discover’d that he was an *Ebionite*, he would never
 have suffer’d him to pass without Note or Censure,
 much less would he have honour’d him with such
 Commendations; for no Man was more bitter against
 the Heresy which deny’d our Saviour to be God, than
Jerome. *Gobarus* also (o) says of *Hegesippus*, *That he*
was an antient Apostolical Man; Antient with respect to
 the Age in which he liv’d; and Apostolical, for the
 Holiness and Purity of his Life and Doctrine.

9. Let us now hear *Hegesippus* speak for him-
 self. He says in that very Chapter (p), from which
 the Sophister would prove him an *Ebionite*, that he,
in his journey to Rome, waited upon many Bishops, and
from all of them heard one and the same Doctrine. Then
 he adds, *And the Church of Corinth persever’d in the right*
Faith till the times of Primus their Bishop, with whom I
convers’d familiarly in my Voyage to Rome, and stay’d with
the Corinthians many days, both of us being greatly comfort-
ed by the right Faith of each other. But when I was come
to Rome, I abode there with Anicetus, to whom Eleuther-
us was then Deacon. Then he subjoins; *Now the*
same things, which were preach’d by the Law, the Prophets,
and the Lord himself, still remain in the several Successions
of Bishops, and in the several Cities. *Hegesippus* then ap-
 prov’d the Doctrine of the Catholick Church of his
 time, as true and entirely agreeable to the Scripture of
 the *Old and New Testament*, and to Primitive and Apo-
 stolical Tradition. Now what the Doctrine of the
 Catholick Church was in the days of *Hegesippus*, you
 may very well inform yourself from his Contemporary
Irenæus (q). I’ll only cite two Places of the many

(o) Photius, Cod. 232. p. 892.
 (q) Lib. 1. cap. 19. p. 114.

(p) Euseb. Lib. 4. cap. 22.

which

which occur in him. He thus describes the Rule of Truth every where receiv'd in the Catholick Church in his time : *As we understand (or hold) the Rule of Truth, this is it, That there is one God Almighty, who created all things by his Word, who dispos'd, and brought them all into existence out of nothing, as the Scripture saith : By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth. And again, All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made (but out of all, nothing is excepted ; the Father made all things, whether visible or invisible, sensible or intellectual, temporal for some certain end or purpose, or eternal) and he made all these things, not by Angels, nor by any Powers of another Will and Purpose from him ; for God wants nothing : but by his Word and Spirit he makes all things, he disposes, he governs, he gives them existence. Cou'd any Ebionite approve this Confession of Faith ? The other place you have in the third Book, Chap. 3. in the very beginning (r), collated with Chap. 4. of the same Book. In the former place he thus writes concerning the Tradition of the Catholick Church : All Persons who will see the truth then, may find in every Church the Tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the World ; and we can reckon up those who were made Bishops by the Apostles, and their Successors, down to our own times, who neither taught, nor knew any such thing as these Men dream of. Here he speaks of universal Tradition manifested in the whole World, and in every Church (that is, as Hegefippus says, in the several Successions of Bishops, and in the several Cities) and so manifested, that every one who was a lover of Truth, and would not shut his Eyes against it, might see it. Now what this universal, this manifest Tradition was, in the Chapter immediately following, he thus clearly explains : But what if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures, must we not have follow'd the Order of Tradition, which they delivered to those to whom they committed the Care of the Churches ? The Order to which*

many Nations of the Barbarians, or rude ignorant People, who believe in Christ, give their assent; who have the Rule of Salvation written in their Hearts by the Spirit, without Ink and Paper, and carefully preserve the old Tradition, believing in one God the Maker of Heaven, and Earth, and all things therein by his Son Jesus Christ; who out of his very great Love to his own Creation, condescended to be born of a Virgin, by himself uniting Man to God.

10. From these things it is very clear that Hegesippus was entirely Catholick, and believ'd as the Catholick Church of his days did, in the Son of God, who existed before all Ages, by whom all things were made, and who at the appointed time was himself made Man for us. Very vain therefore are all those Conclusions, which our Unitarians have drawn from the contrary Hypothesis; namely, that Hegesippus was an Ebionite. Hear now the Author of the *Judgment of the Fathers*, &c. thus arguing from that Hypothesis (s): If Hegesippus (the Unitarian Hegesippus) was the Author Eusebius follows in his account of the fifteen Bishops of Jerusalem, that they profess'd the true Knowledge of Christ (of which no Man who is acquainted with his Writings can doubt) then we have gain'd a point of the greatest advantage; namely, that not only the Jewish Christians, but also the Church of Rome, and all the more famous Churches, which Hegesippus has visited in order to know their Doctrine and Discipline, thought as the Unitarians did; that is, as Hegesippus did; that is, that our Lord Christ was only Man. For he says (t), that he went to Rome, and lived there under the Popes Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus; and that the Doctrines taught by the Law, the Prophets, and our Saviour himself, were preserved there, and in all other Bishopricks. In a word, he confesses, that he found the Churches Uniform and Orthodox. Now this, if Hegesippus was a Unitarian (as I think I have proved) can mean nothing else, than that the

(s) P. 42, and 43.

(t) Euseb. *supra* cit.

Churches believed, as the Jewish Christians did, that our Lord Christ was a Man, a Prophet, an Ambassador of God, upon whom the Logos or Word of God rested. This is entirely agreeable to what the antient Unitarians, (the Artemonites) affirmed in Eusebius; namely, that they had preserved the Doctrine delivered by the Apostles till Victor and Zepherinus opposed it, who succeeded Eleutherus, as he did Soter, and Soter Anicetus, the antient Popes, with whom Hegesippus convers'd. These Conclusions, which the Sophister infers from his own Hypothesis concerning the Faith and Opinion of Hegesippus, are so absurd, and so manifestly repugnant to the most Authentick Ecclesiastical History, that any Man who has a grain of Candour and Judgment, must think the Hypothesis to be, what it really is, abominably false.

11. This notwithstanding, the Author of a Book entitled, *The true and antient Faith concerning the Divinity of our Lord asserted against Dr. Bull's Judgment of the Church, &c.* has run the same lengths with this Writer. For he writes thus (u), *But I must intreat my Reader to observe, that all the Books of the Disciples of the Apostles, who did not run into Platonism, are lost. Now among others, either by chance lost, or on purpose destroy'd, we lament the Books wrote by the Christians of the Circumcision: of them, one Hegesippus a very famous Writer had compiled the Ecclesiastical History of the most early Times; but the Errors which the Platonizing Christians have charged upon him, have occasioned the loss of his valuable History. Valesius is of my opinion, and makes this Observation upon Eusebius (x): Which Books (the Hypotyposes of Clement Alex.) were neglected and lost because of the Errors with which they abounded. I judge that the same thing was also the occasion of our losing the Books of Papias, Hegesippus, and other Antients. In this number he reckons Hegesippus's History: What were the Errors of it, is not difficult to conjecture;*

(u) P. 178, 179, 180.

(x) Lib. 5. cap. 11.

for as much as all the Christians, such as they are, that formerly were, or now are Platonists, call every thing an Error, which doth not suite with their Hypothesis concerning God the Word, begotten not made. Hegesippus was a Jew by Nation, and one of those whom the Pagan Proselytes strenuously endeavour'd to oppress, for the support of the Error concerning the Pre-existence. Nor is it to be doubted whether the Errors, of which he was accused, were the same as the Christian Nazarenes held; whether by the Virgin Church, of which he speaks in Eusebius, he understood that of the Circumcision, which stood off the farthest from Platonism; and whether by the Seduction of Error, which arose under the Emperors Trajan, or Adrian, he intended the Philosophy of Plato then introduced into the Church; a Philosophy of a direct tendency to debase Christianity, foully to change, and thereby almost destroy it: This the Apostles themselves foretold, and it is so true and manifest in itself, that I find Valesius himself noting upon the place of Eusebius aforecited (y), that the Father had understood the Words of Hegesippus in too large a sense; and accommodated that to the whole Catholick Church, which he only said concerning the Virginity of the Church of Jerusalem.

This is a matter of great Importance, and worthy Observation. By it Hegesippus sets out the fatal time, when the Christian Bishops, formerly Heathen Philosophers, succeeded the Nazarene Bishops; and consequently when Platonism justled out the pure and simple Truth, which the Successors of St. James had preach'd. Now this happened in the Reign of Adrian, when all the Jews and uncircumcised Christians were expelled Jerusalem. Sulpitius Severus had reason for what he said, that the Christian Faith, i. e. the Platonical Faith, (according to his Notion) had considerable Advantage from that Dispersion; for then the fatal Evil spread itself greatly, when the Primitive Faith which the Nazarenes had preserved in its Purity, could no longer bear up against Platonism. And a little after this, is the very thing of which the Artemonites

(y) Annot. in Euseb. p. 49.

complain in *Eusebius*: That all the *Antients*, and even the *Apostles themselves*, receiv'd and taught what they now do; and that the Truth of the Gospel was preserv'd till the times of *Victor*, who was the 13th Bishop of Rome from *Peter*; but that from the times of *Zephirinus*, who succeeded *Victor*, the Truth had been adulterated. But this Author has one thing peculiar to himself, namely, the unskillful or the impudent Use he makes of *Sulpitius Severus's* Authority for the support of his Dreams. *Sulpitius Severus*, says he, affirms, that the Christian Faith, that is, according to his Notion, the Platonical, had considerable advantage from that Dispersion (of the Christians of the Circumcision under *Adrian*) for then the fatal Evil spread itself, when the Primitive Faith, which the Nazarenes had preserv'd in its Purity, could no longer bear up against Platonism. Now *Sulpitius* expressly saith in this place, that the Christians of *Jerusalem*, who were of the Circumcision, before the Dispersion under *Adrian*, believ'd Christ to be God. Nor does he speak less clearly, that the Advantage which the Christian Faith had from that Dispersion, consisted in this, That it was the Occasion of setting the Liberty of the Faith and the Church free from the Servitude of the Law. He did not so much as dream that it had been an inlet to Platonism.

12. But no Man can wonder at these Follies in this Author, who has observ'd what Paradoxes he has ventur'd to publish and defend openly in the Christian World. Thus, (2) *When therefore the primitive Christians spoke of Christ, as far superior to mere Man, or as the pre-existent Word, which was with God from the beginning, they plainly meant that Holy Spirit, that Divine Power, which created the World, and form'd the Body of Jesus Christ, which inhabited it when form'd, and had it as the Temple, from which he would give out his Oracles publicly. This was the true and genuine Opinion concerning the Article in Controversy, which indeed afterwards began to be*

chang'd somewhat, because the Disciples of these Men, prejudiced to a Platonical Trinity, distinguish'd between the Word and the Spirit, and by an idle Platonical Subtily, made the synonymous Words into two different things. He eagerly contends that this was the genuine Opinion of Ignatius, Irenæus, and other very antient Fathers; and every where in his Book affirms, that according to the Scriptures and the Primitive Fathers, the greatest Excellency of our Saviour, and that for which he is celebrated as God, is not, that he existed before all Ages, or that all things were made by him; but this only, that he was wonderfully conceiv'd of a Virgin by the Holy Spirit, whereas he had no Existence before. Now he that after reading the Fathers can affirm these things, must either have no Conscience, or no Reason and Judgment at all. For, (1.) It is very certain that the Primitive Fathers, by the *Word*, which was before the Creation, and by which the World was made, did not understand a certain Power, which had no proper Person, but a *living and subsisting Word*, which we commonly call a *Person*. (2.) It is equally certain, that those Primitive Fathers took the *Word* to be a Person distinct from God the Father, and the Holy Spirit. (3.) Lastly, it is evident that they did not determine the greatest Dignity and Excellence of our Saviour's Person to consist in his wonderful Conception of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit; but on the contrary, that his Nativity of the Virgin did entirely belong to his stupendous Condescension; and to that Dispensation, which he, of his infinite Mercy and Goodness to Mankind, was pleas'd to take upon him. All who love the Truth, and are moderately vers'd in the Primitive Antiquity, know this to be the true and the *antient Faith of the Church* (a).

13. But to return from these Triflers to the Holy Fathers, *Hegesippus* and *Irenæus*, two very sufficient Evidences of the Primitive Apostolical Tradition. As

(a) See the Judgment of the Catholick Church, c. 5. n. 5, &c. 9.

for *Hegesippus*, he was near the Apostolical Age, and wrote the History of the Church from the Passion of our Lord, down to his own times. In order to compleat this History, no doubt but that he consulted very many Records of the Apostolical Age, and the next Succession to it. Besides, as *Jerome* says, he was an Admirer of the Primitive Piety, a Man of holy Simplicity, and very great Sanctity, and therefore an Historian very well worthy to be believ'd. This same *Hegesippus* witnesseth, That the Doctrine at first delivered by Christ and the Apostles in all Churches, in his time (in which it is plain, the Tenet of Christ's divine and human Nature was every where receiv'd in the Catholick Church) remain'd pure and intire. *Irenaeus* testifies the same, who was Contemporary with *Hegesippus*, and, as *Tertullian* thought, a very curious Examiner of all Doctrines, and who had, besides this, a very singular advantage from the divine Providence, of conversing with the (b) Blessed *Polycarp*, a Disciple of St. *John*, was thoroughly instructed in his Doctrine, and perfectly remembred it, as he himself says in his Epistle to *Florinus* (c). He appeals to him as an Evidence of the antient Tradition abovemention'd, namely, of the Faith in one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things therein, by the Son of God *Jesus Christ*; who of his very great affection towards his own Creature, condescended to be born of the Virgin, uniting in himself Man to God. Nay, he appeals to the Asian Churches and Bishops, the Successors of *Polycarp*, as Witnesses of the same Tradition. For he writes thus: *Polycarp* also, who was not only instructed by the Apostles, and convers'd with many of them, but was also made Bishop of the Church of Smyrna, by the Apostles, in Asia, whom we have seen in our youth, (for he liv'd a great while, and being very old, departed this Life a Glorious Martyr) always taught us those things which he had learnt of the Apostles, which he also deliver'd to the Church, and

(b) Euseb. E. H. p. 152.

(c) Lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 233.

which

which are only true. All the Churches in Asia, and they who succeeded Polycarp down to this day, give testimony to these things. Surely then those who are not ashamed to oppose this stupid Falshood of the Artemonites, Hereticks of a later date, to such creditable Evidence, are very impudent indeed. Let us now proceed to examine the rest of Zuicker's Whims.



C H A P. IV.

Of the Orphic Verses, and, by way of Digression, of the Sybilline Oracles, alledg'd by Justin and other Antients against the Heathens.

1. **L**ET us now in the second place examine Zuicker's wild Conjecture upon the Orphic Verses. He writes thus (d) : *These Dreams, Fictions, and Prodigies of Simon Magus, with the additional Exposition of Cerinthus, concerning which I shall discourse a little after, seem altogether to have been the first Draught and the Elements of Orpheus's Verses (a Heathen, and, as Pausanias says, a Magician also) cited by Justin Martyr in his Exhortation to the Greeks, (which run thus: I adjure thee by the Word of the Father, which he first brought forth out of his Mouth, when by his advice he made the Universe.) These Verses, some Impostor, a Disciple of Simon Magus, seems to have propagated among the Christians under the Name of Orpheus, a Name so famous (as Suidas reports) in the most antient times, that very many Writings of other Authors, were said to be his genuine Works, to gain them the greater Credit. These Justin made sacred to himself and others, and pretended they were deriv'd from the Doctrine of Moses by Orpheus.*

(d) Iren. p. 15, 16.

Afterwards he adds : *That Justin depending upon these Verses, and others, propos'd their Opinion concerning the Generation of Christ, or the Mind, Word, or Reason of the Father, from the Father, that the World might be made by him, that he might come down to Men, and at length be made one of them.* The Heretick depends upon these two Supports : (1.) That those Verses under the Name of *Orpheus*, were forg'd by the *Simonians*. (2.) That *Justin* relying upon those Verses, had propos'd his Opinion concerning the Generation of the Word before the World was made.

2. As for the former, 'tis *gratis dictum*, nor can he produce the least appearance of an Argument for it. Nay, there are plain Reasons to the contrary. For first, *Justin* cites those Verses, as well known before, and formerly cited among the Heathen under the Name of *Orpheus* ; it is therefore scarce probable that they should be forg'd by Hereticks of late date, obscure, and but little known to the Heathens. Thus *Justin* (e) introduces his Citation of these Verses : *For I don't suppose any of you, who read diligently the Histories of Diodorus and others, who have committed these things to writing, are ignorant that Orpheus, and Homer, and Solon the Athenian Lawgiver, and Plato, and Pythagoras, and some others who went to Egypt, and were assisted by the Books of Moses, afterward taught quite contrary to their former false Sentiments of the Gods.*

3. In these Words, if I'm not mistaken, *Justin* hints to us the Original of the *Orphick Verses*, namely, that some very antient Person, who understood the Learning of *Moses*, and the *Jewish* Religion had formerly wrote those Verses under the Name of *Orpheus*, (for I can't believe as *Justin* does, that *Orpheus* himself was the Author of them) and that they were famous among the *Gentiles* as the Verses of the celebrated Poet *Orpheus*, some Ages before *Justin* was born. I judge, I say, that it is very probable the *Orphic*

Verses came from the *Jewish* Learning. That Man must be greatly wanting both in Prudence and Modesty, who will deny that the Heathen Writers borrow'd many things from the Books of *Moses* and the *Hebrews*. The undoubted Writings of the Heathens, which speak of the one God, the Creation of the World, &c. things scarcely, if at all to be had from any other Quarter, sufficiently testify this. Now the *Jewish* Religion then began to be the best known to the Pagans, when that People was first expell'd their own Country, and dispers'd every where among the Heathen : afterwards the very Scriptures (God's singular Providence thus making way for the calling of the *Gentiles*) were translated in *Alexandria* by the Seventy, at the command of *Ptolemy*, into a Tongue common to almost all the Heathen, I mean *Greek*. From that time, who can wonder that there are some things in the Heathen Writings, which agree with the *Jewish* Learning ?

4. But you'll say, how cou'd they be accommodated to the *Orphic Verses*, when in them there is mention of the *Logos*, or *Word*, by which all things were made, but which was not known to the *Jews* themselves ? I answer, it is clear from the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, which calls that, by which God makes and prescribes all things, the *Word* ; that the *Word* of God was very well known to the *Jews*. Many learned Men have enlarg'd upon this Matter. Among others, consult *Hugo Grotius* upon St. *John's* first and second Chapters of his Gospel. There also he conjectures, that the Writer of the *Orphic Verses* borrow'd his Notion of the *Word* from the *Hebrews* ; that *Heraclitus* follow'd him (*Amelius* has observ'd, that he used the *Word* in that Sense) and that *Plato* and the *Platonics* follow'd *Heraclitus*. But the late very learned Dr. *Allix* has exhausted this Subject, in his Book intitled, *The Judgment of the antient Jewish Church against the Unitarians*.

5. I will give my Opinion by the bye, that the *Sibylline Oracles* also produc'd against the Heathens by *Justin*, and after him by others, might proceed from the same Original. For I can't be brought to believe that those Prophecies were either forg'd by the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and in the way of Pious Frauds obtruded by them, as some learned Men confidently assert, rashly and impudently (as Bishop *Montague* says) throwing the greatest Reflection upon those Holy Prelates. For what Argument do they bring for the Support of so strange an Assertion? Nothing but mere, vain, trifling Surmises. On the other hand, the Reasons on our side are clear. (1.) Who can believe that *Justin* and the other Fathers (pious and prudent Men) would presume to alledge the spurious and supposititious Verses of the *Sibyls* before the Emperors, before the Heathens (to whom they could not but be very well known) in defence of their Faith; appealing with the greatest Assurance to the Copies, which were in the hands of the Heathens. Nay, *Justin* near the end of his Exhortation appeals to those *Sibylline Oracles*, as notorious to the whole World, These are his Words, (f) *Be convinc'd by the most antient Sibyl, whose Books are preserv'd every where, &c.* I know indeed that the Heathens objected to the Christians the insertion of many Things in the *Sibylline Verses*, This *Celsus* alledg'd, as we learn from *Origen* (g.) But notwithstanding, I also know what *Origen* answers in the same place, That he had not shewn what those Insertions were; tho' no doubt, he would have done it, if he had had more antient and incorrupt Copies. And indeed if that Fraud of the Christians cou'd have been detected in the Times of *Celsus*; *Theophilus*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, &c. had been the most foolish, impudent Mortals imaginable, to have alledg'd them with assurance against the Heathens afterwards.

(f) Pag. 36.

(g) Pag. 369. Lib. 7.

6. Besides, we have some things in the Heathen Writers, who liv'd either before our Lord's Birth, or when he was upon Earth, taken from those *Sibylline* Books, exactly agreeing with what the Fathers cited from them. *Justin Martyr* cites the *Sibyls*, foretelling the Conflagration of the World, in these Words (b); *The Sibyl and Hystaspis have said, that there would be a consumption of all corruptible things by Fire.* The same *Ovid* had learn'd from the Prophetic Books (i).

*Remembring in the Fates a time, when Fire
Should to the Battlements of Heaven aspire;
And all the blazing Worlds above should burn,
And all th' inferior Globe to Cinderturn.*

The first Christians produc'd many things out of the *Sibylline Oracles* concerning Christ their King, who should give Peace and Salvation to the whole World. *Cicero* also says, (k) that an Interpreter of the *Sibylline Books* complimented *Julius Caesar* (the real, tho' not nominal King at that time) with this Sentence, *That they must have a King, if they would be sav'd.* By which Prophecy, *Molinaus* (at other times no great favourer of the *Sibylline Oracles*) professes he thought Christ and his Kingdom was intended, by which Salvation was procur'd for all who would obey him. *Grotius* (l) also was of the same mind.

7. But those Passages are more especially clear, which *Virgil* takes from the *Cumaean Verses* of the Boy, who was to descend from Heaven, to be born of a Virgin, to rule the whole World, to blot out the Sins of Men, to destroy the Serpent, and restore the Golden Age; all which things, the Poet gathering from Circumstances that the time by the *Sibyl* intend- ed was come, and not understanding the Sense of them, by base Flattery, (or if you please, poetical Licence) apply'd to *Saloninus* the Son of *Pollio*, just

(b) Pag. 66. (i) *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, Lib. 1.

(k) *Lib. de Divinatione* 2. p. 273. Ed. Gryph. 1570. vol. 2. Oper. Philosoph.

(l) Upon *Matthew*, cap. 2. ver. 1.

born. Of these again *Molinaus* professes, that when he has consider'd them very attentively, he has often been amaz'd, how it should happen that those Verses of that fourth Eclogue, taken, as *Virgil* owns, from the *Sibylline Oracles*, should so exactly correspond with the Nativity and Kingdom of Christ. *Molinaus* adds, that the Verses are more considerable, as they were wrote by *Virgil* at Rome, (where the *Sibylline Books* were kept in the *Palatine Library*) at that time when Christ was born in *Judea*. But it will be worth our while to transcribe these Verses with *Molinaus's* Notes upon them. The Poet then rising above the pitch of an Eclogue, thus begins:

Sicilian Muse, begin a loftier Strain!

Then adds,

*The last great Age, foretold by sacred Rhimes,
Renews its finish'd Course; Saturnian times
Roll round again; and mighty Tears, begun
From their first Orb, in radiant Circles run:
The base degenerate Iron Offspring ends;
A Golden Progeny from Heaven descends;
O chaste Lucina speed——*

These things are wonderful, the Virgin, the Boy born, sent down from Heaven, the Golden Ages under him, and these things copy'd from the Sibylline Verses, and that at the time when Christ was born. Then he thus addresses the Boy:

*Thou Child being Consul, Virtue shalt restore,
And Crimes shall threat the guilty World no more.*

He foretels that our Sins shall be blotted out by him. O how remote from the common Poetical way! But he promises also the Destruction of the Serpent under his Reign:

*The Serpent's Brood shall die; the sacred Ground
Shall Weeds and poisonous Herbs refuse to bear,
Each common Bush shall Syrian Roses wear.*

And a little after:

The

*The jarring Nations he in Peace shall bind,
And with paternal Virtues rule Mankind.*

By [the deceitful poisonous Herb] he understands the false Doctrines and worship of Idols ; by the Assyrian Amomus, which should grow every where, the Doctrine of the Gospel to be propagated through the World. In the Sibylline Verses it was the Syrian Amomus, &c. For Judea is in Syria, from whence the preaching of the Gospel first came. But Virgil, by an easy change, put Assyrian for Syrian, for the sake of his Metre.

8. You'll ask, whence the Heathens had these clear Oracles concerning Christ ? I say from the Jews, especially those of the Disperſion, who upon every opportunity given, and even without it, with great elation, preach'd up the magnificent Things in the Oracles of the Prophets, as pertaining to their King the *Messiah*, who was to come. For from the time that the Jews were driven into Banishment, the Promises and Predictions of the Prophets concerning the *Messiah* and a future State, were more clearly perceiv'd by all the People of God than ever before ; the gracious Providence of God so ordering it, that the afflicted People, who groan'd under a foreign Yoke, should be rais'd by the hope of the Promises. The Writings of the *Hebrews*, who liv'd between the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the coming of the Lord, fully prove this Point. He that doubts whether these famous Oracles came into the hands of the Heathen, may do well to consider that memorable Prophecy related both by *Cornelius Tacitus*, and *Suetonius*, that there was a notion all the World over, that one should arise out of Judea who should govern the World. *Tacitus* says, (m) *Many were then persuaded that it was contain'd in the antient Learning of the Priests, that the East should be famous, and the Jews should rule the World.* *Suetonius* (n) : *There was*

(m) *Tacit. Hist.* 5 Lib. p. 532. Ed. Ryckii.

(n) *Pag.* 1099. *Basil* 1542.

an old uniform Opinion all over the East, that it was determined that the Jews should govern the World.

9. If you ask me another Question, how those Jewish Oracles crept into the Sibylline Books kept in the Capitol, I've an answer ready for you. The Sibylline Books were of two kinds, some bought by Tarquin, and preserved in the Capitol till the days of Sylla, when they were burnt together with the Capitol; these, (as appears from Livy) were dictated by the Devil upon account of the many impious, and idolatrous Superstitions prescribed in them. But besides these, there were others fetch'd from Erythræ, and also laid up in the Capitol at Rome, by three Ambassadors appointed by the Senate for that purpose after the Capitol was rebuilt. These (o) Lactantius says consisted of a thousand Verses. But Tacitus (p) tells us, that some Persons were also sent by Octavius Augustus to collect the other Verses in several Parts: Having collected the Sibylline Verses from Samos, Ilion, Erythræ, through Africa also, Sicily, and the Italian Colonies, the Priests were employ'd, as much as humanly they could, to distinguish the genuine. And Suetonius (q) : Whatsoever Prophetical Books, Greek or Latin, were spread abroad, either Anonymous or under Names Improbable, being in number above 2000, he gathered together and burnt; he only retained the Books of the Sibylline, and of them but a select part, and laid them up in two Golden Cases under the Base of Apollo Palatinus. Further, Dionysius Halicarnassæus (r) writes thus of this Collection : The Sibylline Verses now extant are what were collected out of many places, some from the Italian Cities, some from Erythræ in Asia, and some from other Countries; yea, some were transcribed from the Papers of private Men. Now in this search after the Sibylline Oracles, it is plain many other Oracles, and even these Jewish, might be taken for the Sibylline (a name given to all fa-

(o) Lib. 1. Cap. 6. p. 28.

(p) P. 162.

(q) P. 273.

(r) Lib. 4.

mous Oracles, such as *Sibylline* properly so called were) and be brought to *Rome* among the rest. For it was utterly impossible for the *Roman* Priests, in such an abundance of prophetick Books, to discern the genuine from the spurious. For by what sure Token could they find out which were truly *Sibylline*, and which only so in pretence? Were they so well acquainted with the Original, burnt in the Capitol, that upon sight of a Copy, they could remember the difference? No, no, for besides that those Prophecies were only seldom, and upon extraordinary Cases consulted, that Original of the *Sibylline* Verses was lost in the Year of the City 671, that is, 81 Years before Christ was born. This Review was made at *Rome* in the Year 741, that is 11 Years before the Birth of Christ, when *Augustus* himself was *Pontifex Maximus*. So then there are 70 entire Years between this Review and the Loss of the Original, when the Capitol was burnt. But were there not other Copies remaining at *Rome*, after the loss of this Original as *Baronius* supposes? It is very improbable. For (as *Molinaus* well observes) if these Verses had survived the Capitol, the Senate would not have sent an Embassy to repair the Loss, and collect them through all *Greece*. What Rule had these Priests, by which they could distinguish the true Verses from the false? None. *Tacitus* therefore speaks cautiously in the aforecited place [*as much as humanly they could.*]

10. The Original then of what are called the *Sibylline* Oracles concerning Christ, is to me very clear: They came from the *Jews*. *Gregory Nazianzen* was among the Antients also of this opinion (s), who in his Poem to *Nemefius*, says, That *Trismegistus* and the *Sibyl* did not foretel what they prophesied of God, by divine Inspiration, but borrowed them from the sacred Books of the *Hebrews*. In this alone he

(s) In Carmine ad Nemesium.

was mistaken, that he thought those Oracles were compiled by the Sybils: so *Clemens Alex.* (t) before him calls the Sibyl the Hebrew Prophetess. Thus also *Grotius* (u); and indeed in these Verses there are many plain Tokens of this Original. Such is that cited by *Lactantius* (x) in praise of the Jewish Nation: *The Divine Nation of the happy and heaven-born Jews.* And that: *When Rome shall unite Egypt to her Empire, then the supreme Kingdom of the immortal King shall appear over Men.* Which Words plainly contain an Explication of *Daniel's* Prophecy concerning the Divine Empire of the Messiah after the Posterity of *Seleucus* and *Lagus* ceas'd to reign. Of the same kind is that concerning the erecting the Holy City *Jerusalem* into the Metropolis of the whole World:

(y) *And the City which God hath made, he hath made
More splendid than the Stars, and Sun, or Moon.*

Nay, the Collector of these Sibylline Verses almost every where speaks of the Messiah's Kingdom, as the Jews do. Thus he writes of the universal Peace, which should happen in his days:

*The Wolves pair with the Lambs upon the Mountains,
The Lynx eat Grass with the Kids;
The Bears of a savage Nature shall eat Hay at the Mangers
With the Oxen,
And the Dragons shall lie with the sucking Children
without their Mothers.*

Compare (z) *Isaiah's* Description with this. Thus of the Plenty:

*Then God shall give great Joy to Men;
For the Earth, the Trees, and numerous Cattle
Shall yield Men their genuine Fruits,
Wine, sweet Honey, and white Milk
And Bread, to Men the best of all things.*

(t) P. 35.
cap. 20. p. 364.
v. 6, 7. and Ch. 65. 25.

(u) Ad Matth. Cap. 2. v. 1.
(v) Lib. 7 Cap. 24. p. 666.

(x) Lib. 4.
(z) Ch. 11.

And again in the same manner :

*The sacred Land of the pious only shall yield all these things:
To all the Just a River of Honey shall flow from a Rock,
And Milk from a never-failing Fountain.*

Where this is chiefly to be observed as a Privilege of the Holy Land of *Judea*. Thus the Prince of Poets describes the Golden Ages of his King, who was about to be born, in almost the same Words from the *Cumæan Verses*.

11. Now all these things are to be understood concerning the *Sibylline Oracles* alledged by *Justin*, *Clement*, *Theophilus*, and those antienter Fathers ; for I don't deny that the Christians of later days inserted some things into the *Sibylline Books*. Of this kind is the *Acrostick*, which *Constantine*, or, as others will have it, *Eusebius* (a), mentioned in his Oration to the Saints; where the first Letter of the Verses make these Words in *Greek*, *Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour, the Cross*. Of which indeed, neither *Justin*, nor *Theophilus*, nor *Clement of Alex.* have any where said any thing. *Cicero* (b) also speaks of an *Acrostick* of the *Sibyl*, but no where tells us what was in it. Without doubt also those *Sibylline Oracles* are likewise spurious, in which we have an account of some things which Christ did, so clear and circumstantial, that you'd rather take it for a History than a Prophecy. Such is the miracle of the Loaves from *Lactantius* (c) :

*He shall feed five thousand in the Wilderness
With five Loaves, and two Fishes ;
And gathering what remains, after having broken to all,
Shall fill twelve Baskets, for the support of the Multitude.*

Who can think that these and other things like them which we have in *Lactantius*, are not taken from the History of the Gospel? You have not any such

(a) P. 488. (b) De Divin. p. 271. (c) Lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 342.
things

things cited out of the *Sibylline* Verses by *Justin*, *Theophilus*, or *Clement*; but they being very diligent Readers of these Oracles, and omitting no Opportunity of beating the Heathen with their own Weapons, would never have pass'd over in silence such flagrant Prophecies of Christ, if any such had appeared in their Copies. Now *Lactantius*, who wrote his Books about the beginning of the 4th Century, when *Constantine* became Christian, was the first who produced those Verses against the Heathens, under the name of *Sibylline*.

12. The whole of the matter is this: (1.) It is certain there were some Prophecies among the Heathens, before the Birth of Christ, which went under this name, in which was expounded the Worship of the one God, and those things which belonged to the future Kingdom of Christ, and which *Justin* and other Primitive Christians did very properly appeal to, in their Disputes with the Heathens. (2.) It's very probable, that those Oracles did not come from the *Sibyls*, Heathen Women, as was thought; but from wise Men, who flourished among the People of God, the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* Captivity. Nor are we to wonder that they have more fully and plainly laid open the obscure Oracles of the Prophets, if we consider seriously the divine Purpose, that the nearer the Times of the Gospel approach'd, the more clear the Promises and Predictions of it should shine forth, that God intended a brighter Dawn before the rising of this glorious Sun. Lastly, it is but too manifest, that some things were forg'd, made up, and added to these Oracles, in the way of clearer Explication of them, by some idle, ill-employ'd Professors of Christianity. This the old Serpent seems to have effected with this Design (as *Molinaus* has well observ'd) that there appearing a greater mixture of Falshood than Truth, he might render the Truth suspected. Thus much by the way concerning the *Sibylline* Oracles, which I hope will not be unacceptable to the Reader. I now return to the *Orphic* Verses and *Zuicker*. 13.

13. Now I have one Argument to produce, which will put the Matter beyond all Question, that the *Orphic Verses*, cited by *Justin*, let them come from what Quarter they will, can't be the Forgery of any *Simonian*. They contain in them such things concerning God and the Creation of the World, as are widely different from the *Simonian* Heresy. All those, who have had any acquaintance with *Irenaus*, *Tertullian*, and the other Fathers, that have wrote concerning the *Simonians*, know, that those Hereticks taught the visible World was made, not by God himself, nor by his Word, but by inferior Powers. On the other hand, the Author of the *Orphic Verses* every where affirms, That this visible World was the work of the supreme God, and created by his Word, as you may see in that long Citation of them in (d) *Justin's* Exhortation to the Heathen. Nay, the very Verses which *Zuicker* cites in part, and which immediately follow those in *Justin*, contain the same Doctrine. Thus they run :

I adjure thee by the Heaven, the work of the great and wise God,

By the Voice of the Father, which he spake in the beginning,
When he made the Universe by his own Counsel.

So that I am of opinion the Verses may rather be any Person's than a *Simonian's*. Thus I have said enough, and too much concerning *Zuicker's* Conjecture (or rather Delirium) that the *Orphic Verses* were forg'd by the *Simonians*.

14. He has advanc'd another no less, nay much more absurd Guess, one that has not any appearance of Truth, namely, That *Justin* depending upon these Verses, propos'd his Opinion of the Son's Generation before the World was made. For who in his right Senses could suspect, that a Holy and a Prudent Man had built his Faith and Opinion concerning a

(d) Pag. 15, & 16.

primary Article of Christianity upon the Verses of a Heathen, and even (as *Zuicker* observes) a Magician; or that an Argument of so little weight, indeed of none at all, should move him to depart from the Rule of the Apostolical Doctrine, which obtain'd every where in the Churches before his time? It is further very observable, that *Justin* never professedly cites the *Orphic* Verses, to establish his Opinion concerning the Son's Generation. If I remember right, he only cites them twice, and in both the Places only makes use of them to defend the One God against the Heathen Polytheism. In the former Place, he illustrates those Verses concerning the Word and Voice of the Father, by his own Notes, not giving the least intimation that *Orpheus* had taught him the Doctrine of the Son's Generation; but on the other hand expressly affirming, that that Author had been oblig'd to the sacred Oracles of the *Old Testament* for his Notions of the Word. Thus he writes: *Here he calls the Word of God [the Voice] that Word, by which the Heaven, the Earth, and every Creature was made, as the divine Prophecies of the Holy Men teach us, by consulting some part of which, in Egypt, this [Orpheus] found that all things were made by the Word of God.* He who reads these Words of *Justin*, must wonder, no doubt, how *Zuicker* could for shame say, *That Justin, and almost all his Successors, conform'd and accommodated their Opinion of Christ to the Orphic Verses, as to a certain divine Foundation.* But why do I dwell upon such manifest Trifles and Impertinences? To repeat this Conjecture, to sober Minds, is a sufficient Confutation of it.



C H A P. V.

That Justin did not learn from the Platonicks, the Notions he has given us of the Word.

HAVING consider'd, and very justly rejected the primary Causes, which, according to *Zuicker's* Conjectures, mov'd *Justin* to ascribe a divine Nature to *Jesus Christ*; I come now to examine the secondary Causes which, *Zuicker* pretends, induced him to continue in this Error. Nor do I doubt, but that, after having defeated the main Body, which the Heretick led up against the divine Truth, I shall gain a cheap Victory over his Forces in reserve. These Causes are four: (1.) *The Love of the Platonic Philosophy.* (2.) *The Memory of Gentilism not yet obliterated.* (3.) *The custom of Deifying excellent Men.* (4.) *And the superstitious Dread of worshipping him who is only Man.*

2. Before we examine these unhappily invented Causes particularly, and every one in its own Order, we can't but in general observe, that *Zuicker* (for all his Boasts that he has done the Business, and actually discover'd the Original of making this new Christ) is doubtful, and altogether uncertain which way, except from the Scripture, and the preaching of the Apostles, the Doctrine of the Son's Divinity could be introduc'd into the Christian Church; for if he could have been sure of any one Cause, to which he might have ascrib'd the Original of it, why should he have troubled us with so many, and those (as we shall shew by and by) contradictory to one another? For first he attempts to shew, that the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, concerning our Lord's Divinity, sprung from the *Simonian* Heresy. In this Strong-hold (a Castle in the Air, and, as we have seen, easily demolish'd) he places the greatest hopes of his Heresy. But nevertheless, not thinking himself secure in it, he has sought another Refuge; pretending, that there were

certain Verses forg'd by the *Simonians* under the Name of *Orpheus*, which alas! seduc'd *Justin* into this Error, and after him, the whole Catholick Church. What can be more silly than this Fancy? Distrusting it therefore, as he well might, he lists a Quaternion of stout Reasons into the service of his desperate Cause, boasts that he has done the Business, discover'd the Original of the Cheat, and seems to triumph over the defeated Truth. But still he is not so safe as he would seem to be; after he has muster'd all his Forces, he has a Reserve for himself, either to raise more as he pleases, or to set his Reader's Wit to work. The Case is this: *Zuicker* was resolv'd to reject the Doctrine of the Son's divine Nature, as absurd, and contrary to sound Reason, (a thing he often boasts, but never shews) therefore to serve this Cause, he would rather ascribe the Original of it to any thing, than that (which evidently appears from the thing itself to have been the true Cause) namely, that it was part of the Apostolical Doctrine, deliver'd and promulg'd every where in the Primitive Churches, together with the Gospel itself. But we will now attack this reserv'd Body.

3. The Knowledge and Love of the *Platonic* Philosophy is (according to *Zuicker*) the first of those Causes, which engag'd *Justin* and his Followers to receive the Son's Divinity. The Heretick would insinuate forsooth, that *Justin*, formerly an Admirer of this Philosophy, and too much delighted with the Tenets of his old Master, which he had read concerning the Word, after he became a Christian, translated them into the Christian Faith, and adulterated the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel, with a mixture of Heathen Philosophy. In this Cry the Unitarians all run, this is the burden of their Song, *Platonism, Platonism! the Bane of the sincere Apostolical Religion!* Now I'm sure that *Zuicker* and others, who have so hard an Opinion of that excellent and incomparable Man (whom *Photius* justly praises in these words (e) :

(e) Cod. 234. p. 922.

A Man neither in Time, nor Virtue, far short of the Apostles) are either perfect Strangers in his Works, or are resolv'd to deal with the venerable Father, without any regard to Charity or Justice. For how often, and how plainly, with what a warm Zeal and Affection does *Justin* himself (the Person unworthily calumniated by this Heretick) profess, that after he knew Christ, he renounc'd, not only the Philosophy of *Plato*, but also that of every other Sect, and only admired the most Holy Scriptures. Read his incomparable Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew. There indeed (not far from the beginning) he confesses that he was a very great Admirer of *Plato* before he knew Christ; but there also, he censures his former Folly. These are his Words (f): *Not knowing which way to turn, I thought fit to acquaint myself with the Platonists, for they were in great Fame; I therefore convers'd very much with an understanding Man, who but lately came to our City, a Master in Platonism, I made a Proficiency and very great Improvements daily. I was greatly taken with the Notion of Incorporeals, and the Theory of Ideas rais'd my Mind; I thought myself wise in a little time, and vainly dreamt of seeing God shortly.* A little after in the same Dialogue, he gives the Reasons which drew him off from Platonism to Christianity, in a feign'd Conference (if I mistake not) between a certain venerable old Man and Himself, while he liv'd in retirement. Among other things, the old Man, when he propos'd to him *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and other wise Men, contrary to the Truth, says (g), *I care not for your Plato, or Pythagoras, or indeed for any of your wise Thinkers in that way, for this is the Truth.* Then when *Justin* asks him (h), *Who then must a Man take for his Master; or from whom may he improve, if these Persons have not the Truth?* The old Man answers, *There was a sort of Men a long time ago more antient than all the reputed Philosophers, happy, just, pious Men, who spake by the Spirit of God, and*

(f) P. 219.

(g) P. 224.

(h) Ibidem.

foretold things future which are now come to pass, (they call them Prophets) these only saw and reveal'd the Truth to Men. The venerable old Man adds, in the same Place, many more things worth reading. But Justin himself in the close, shews us how he was affected by the Conference (i). *My Soul was inflam'd immediately, and I was all in love with the Prophets and the Friends of Christ. After I had discuss'd his Words in myself, I found this to be the only sound and useful Philosophy. After this Manner, and by these Steps, I became a Philosopher.* Therefore the Love of Platonism, which burnt in Justin's Breast before, was extinguish'd by the Knowledge of the heavenly Doctrine. The new heat of the Sacred Writings came into the place of it, and penetrated the most intimate Recesses of the holy Man.

4. With what Care he afterwards fed this heavenly Flame, is also very clear from his Writings, in which he every where wonderfully extols the Holy Scripture, (despising the best Philosophy in comparison of them) appeals to them, and strenuously affirms, that they are the only Fountains of divine Truth. His Words in the beginning of his Exhortation to the Greeks, are very observable (k): there, after he had largely shewn that there is no certainty about divine Matters to be found in the Writings of the Philosophers, of what Sect soever, at length he concludes; *Since then it is not possible to learn the Truths of Religion of your Masters, who have given you sufficient demonstration of their Ignorance by their Division among themselves; it is rational to pass over to our Ancestors, Men much more antient than your Doctors, Men who don't teach us from their own Fancy, that don't differ among themselves, or attempt to overturn each other's Schemes; but without Contention and Division, having receiv'd Knowledge from God, teach us the same.* For it was not possible by Nature and human Thought to know the sublime things of God; but by the Gift of God, which then descended from above upon those

(i) P. 225.

(k) P. 8, & 9.

Holy Men. What can be more clear or direct to our purpose? *Justin* thought that we cou'd not come at the certain Knowledge of any thing Divine from the Heathen Philosophers, and therefore in such Disquisitions, we must have recourse to inspired Men. Is it probable then that he wou'd borrow that Notion of his concerning God, and the divine Persons, (the most sublime of all Divine things) from the Writings of *Plato*, or the Philosophers of any other Sect? But he expressly teaches in another place, that the Scriptures alone are to be heard in all Questions of Religion, that our Proofs are to be fetch'd from them, that the Words of Scripture are often and often to be inculcated, and no Man can find any thing better than what is taught in the same Scriptures. These are the Words in the Dialogue with *Trypho* (1): *It is a ridiculous thing to see the Sun, the Moon, and Stars always take the same Course, and make the same conversions of Seasons; or to see an Arithmetician not scruple to answer that two and two are four, when he is ask'd, tho' he has often said so before; and likewise to have other things, well establish'd already, again asserted and confess'd: but that a Person should cease to discourse from the Prophetick Writings, should be weary of always repeating the same Scriptures, and suppose he can say something better than they.* In these Words he very elegantly describes that great Confidence, with which a Christian firmly adheres to the Holy Scriptures. You may sooner turn the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, out of their usual Course; or persuade a Mathematician to forsake his well-known Principles, than move a true Christian from that sacred and certain Rule of his, the Scriptures. Who now can suspect that *Justin*, in the fundamental Doctrine of Christianity, turn'd aside from the old Path to strange Tenets, and would introduce into the Christian Churches a new Doctrine concerning Christ, and (to speak in *Zuicker's* Language) a new Christ, contrary to

(1) P. 311, & 312.

the Truth of Scripture itself, and the universal Apostolical Tradition before his Days.

5. Moreover, the excellent Father (as tho' he had been a Prophet, and foreseen Futurity) has, as it were, professedly prevented this Calumny of *Zuicker's* in his own Words, for he expressly says in several Places, That the Doctrine of Christians, concerning the Word, tho' like *Plato's*, is not deriv'd from the *Platonics*; but rather *Plato* had borrow'd all his right Notions concerning the Word of God from the Church, (to which the Doctrine was formerly known in part). Thus, after he hath confess'd that the Doctrines of *Plato* are not unlike those of Christ, he quickly subjoins (m): *Whatsoever things are said well by all Writers, are ours, who are Christians. For we after God [the Father] worship the Word of the unbegotten ineffable God, and love him; for as much as he was made Man for us, that so being partaker of our Sufferings, he might cure us. For all Writers, by the Seed of the natural Word which is in them, are able, in a faint way, to discern the things that are. For the Seed of any thing, or the Imitation of it, which is given us according to our Capacity, is one thing, and that thing it self, by whose Grace a Communication from him, and an Imitation is granted, is another thing.* Here you'll observe by the bye, that *Justin* does not defend what he had discours'd concerning the Word, as his own Sentiment, but as the common Doctrine and Faith of all Christians. He speaks still more plainly of this Matter in his second Apology to *Antoninus*, near the end (n); where, after having said that *Plato* had learn'd, that the Universe was made by the Word of God, yea, that the third Person of the Trinity, namely, the Holy Spirit, was not altogether unknown to *Plato*, he adds: *We then don't think the same as others, but all Men imitate us, and say as we say. With us you may hear and learn the same things from those, who know not their Letters, who are Idiots and Barbarians in Speech, but*

(m) P. 51.

(n) P. 93.

faithful and wise in Mind, from Men that are main'd and blind ; from whence it is plain, these things are not brought about by Man's Wisdom, but dictated by the Power of God. This Place alone would be sufficient, utterly to demolish all the Pile of Conjectures (as great as it is) which Zuicker has erected against the Truth. For, (1.) In this Place Justin plainly teaches, That the Doctrine of the Creation by the Word, was neither taken by him, or any other Christian from the Works of Plato, but rather, that Plato borrow'd his Notions of the Word from the Holy Books of the Christians (namely, from the Old Testament, as he afterwards explains himself.) (2.) He asserts and defends this Doctrine, not as his own singular Opinion, but as the Faith and Doctrine of the Catholick Church, i. e. of all Christians, before the Emperor and the Heathens. (3.) From these things he very justly concludes, that the Christians were not taught that Doctrine by Man's Wisdom, (from the Writings of Plato, much less from the filthy Dreams of the worst Hereticks) but utter'd it by the Power of God, from Writings divinely inspired, and the Apostolical Doctrine every where propagated. Surely then, from this Evidence, it is plain that Justin had the same Opinion of the Heathen Philosophy, as Tertullian ; and, according to him, all the old Catholick Christians had. His Words are admirable (o) : St. Paul testifies that we must take care of Philosophy, in his Epistle to the Colossians : See that no man deceive you by vain philosophy and seduction, according to the tradition of men. He had been at Athens, and knew that human Wisdom familiarly, which affects the Name of Truth, and adulterates it, which is split into a multitude of Sects mutually opposing one another. What has Jerusalem to do with Athens ? the Academy with the Church ? and Christians with Hereticks ? Our Institution is to be learnt from Solomon's Porch, who himself taught, that we must seek the Lord in simplicity of Heart. Let

(o) P. 204, and 205.

them look to it, who have coin'd us a Stoical, a Platonical, and a Logical Christianity. We have no need of curiosity after Christ Jesus, or an inquisition after the Gospel. When we believe, we have no occasion for believing further; for the first thing we believe, is, that we ought to believe no more.

6. It is now scarce necessary to revive, or continue the Controversy among the Learned, whether *Plato's* Opinion concerning the Word be like *Justin's*, and others of the same Mind. He, who has an Inclination may consult (p) *Casaubon* and *Lanselius*. This is certain, that there is so great a Difference between the Opinions of *Plato* and *Justin*, that it is clear enough from thence, that *Justin* did not borrow his Notions from *Plato*. Hence also, *Justin* himself tells us (q) expressly, that *Plato* had but a slender and obscure view of that Mystery.

7. Therefore, to conclude this Chapter, *Zuicker* judg'd that *Justin* had taken his Doctrine concerning the Word, from the School of *Plato*, with the same probability, as formerly *Amelius* the Platonic Philosopher, upon reading the first Verses of *St. John's* Gospel, complain'd that the Evangelist had transcrib'd the Mysteries of his Master into his Book, and made *Plato's* Secrets his own. By *Jove*, says he, the Barbarian is of our *Plato's* mind, That the Word of God is constituted in the order of a Principle. And we have an Unitarian of our own, who has presumed in plain Terms to teach, that the Doctrine of the Apostle *St. John* in the beginning of his Gospel, is borrow'd from the Platonic Philosophers. It is the Author of a Book intitled, *The Historical Vindication of a Book call'd the Naked Gospel, presented to the University of Oxford*. In the Preface to the Reader, he bitterly inveighs against those who have adulterated the plain and primitive Purity of the Gospel, with the Ceremonies and vain Philo-

(p) Exercitationes ad Apparatum Baronianum, p. 5. & Petrus Lanselius ad calcem operum Justinii Martyris, c. 1.

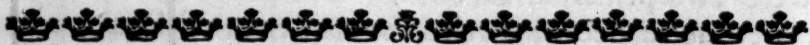
(q) In the place before cited,

phy of the Pagans, and obtruded the Enthusiasm of Plato upon the World, for Faith, Mystery, and Revelation, &c. No Man is so dull as not to perceive, that the Sacred Doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, acknowledg'd and receiv'd by the Catholick Church, is here struck at. But in the Work it self, he attempts to shew, how that vain Philosophy, the *Platonic* Enthusiasm, first made its way into the Jewish, and then into the Christian Church. He says (r), that the *Jews* dispers'd in *Ægypt* and *Syria*, first learn'd the Philosophy of *Plato* brought out of *Greece* into those Countries; that there were two principal Doctrines of the *Platonic* Philosophy, one concerning the Pre-existence of Souls, and the other of the Divine Trinity; and that therefore these two Doctrines did afterwards obtain in the Jewish Church. After this, in the next Page (s), you have his express Words: *These were the Opinions of the Jews in the Days of our Saviour and his Apostles; and hence, perhaps, it came to pass, that some of the Phrases and Manners of Speech used by the Platonists, as the Learned have observ'd, are found in the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of St. John. The Observation of Amelius the Platonic Philosopher, upon reading the beginning of St. John's Gospel, is well known, namely, that the Apostle spoke like Plato. Indeed that Philosopher might say, consistent with his Principles, the Reason was in the beginning with God, and was God. It is he who made all things, and is the Life and Light of Men.* From the collation of these two Places, it is very evident, that this Author thought the Doctrine deliver'd by *St. John*, in the beginning of his Gospel, was not divinely inspir'd, but taken from the vain Philosophy of the Pagans, and very strong of the *Platonic* Enthusiasm. We may justly cry out again in the Words of Holy *Polycarp*, *Good God, for what times hast thou reserv'd us, that we should bear these things!* But this Author equally betrays his Ignorance and his Impiety, in saying, that the antient

(r) Pag. 12, 13.

(s) Pag. 14.

Jews in the Dispersion were instructed by the *Platonists* in the Mystery of the Holy Trinity : For on the contrary it is plain, he learn'd all he wrote of this Matter from the more antient Philosophy of the *Jews*. It is certain also, that we may see in the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, much older than *Plato*, many Footsteps of this Mystery, as *Justin* has observ'd. But if any of our own Countrymen desire further Satisfaction in this Point, let him go to that clear Treatise of our learned *Allix*, wrote in *English*, and intitled, *The Judgment of the Antient Jewish Church against the Unitarians*.



C H A P. VI.

That Justin entirely abhorr'd Paganism, and the Worship of more Gods. That the Argument used by Justin and other Antients in support of Christ's Divinity, from the divine Worship given to him in Holy Scriptures, is invincible.

I. **T**HE other three Causes *Zuicker* has invented, may be reduc'd to two: The Memory of Gentilism or more Gods not quite obliterated, and the Custom of Deifying excellent Men, may make one ; (for no doubt the latter is a piece of Gentilism not obliterated :) and the superstitious Dread of worshipping him who is only Man, another. As for the former, I can't but admire *Zuicker's*, the Inventor's extreme Impudence, or gross Ignorance in the Writings of *Justin*. Read, I beseech you, his Exhortation to the *Greeks*, both his Apologies, and his Piece concerning the Monarchy of God. How many good Arguments does he there bring against the Polytheism of the Heathens? Besides, who can believe that an excellent Doctor of the Christian Faith, was not fully in-

instructed in the prime Doctrine of the Gospel concerning one God? Or, that the stoutest Champion of Christ against the Pagan Superstitions and Impieties, yea, a Martyr also, was yet so deep in the foulest Error of Paganism?

2. As for that other Cause (the last which the Heretick's little Head cou'd run to) it is to be observ'd, that it is diametrically opposite to the former. For doubtless, that any one should be well-affected to the Custom of Deifying Men, and yet should dread the worshipping him who was Man only, is impossible, those two things being inconsistent. Having just hinted this, we will consider that Cause by it self. Now here we will grant it to *Zuicker*, that *Justin*, and other Fathers, were persuaded by this Argument among others, to ascribe a Divine Nature to Christ, namely, that in the Holy Scriptures Worship and divine Adoration are often and expressly prescribed to be given to him; but what will the Heretick gain by this Concession? Nothing at all: for certainly that Reason is a Foundation sufficient to support the Opinion. That the Worship and Adoration which is truly Divine, ought not to be paid to any Creature, in himself tho' never so excellent, but to him only who is truly God, Reason dictates, and many express Testimonies of Holy Scripture prove. I here ask your pardon, Christian Reader, if I am something long in making good this Point, not only upon account of my Promise in the beginning of this Piece, but because this Reason, rightly weigh'd, strikes at the very Heart of Socinianism.

3. (1.) We have the express (t) *Command* of God repeated by our Saviour, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*. Where the exclusive Particle *only* appropriates divine Worship to our Lord and God, and suffers not any Creature at all to

(t) Deut. 6. 13, 10, 20. repeated by our Lord in St. Matth. 4. 10.

partake of it. The Socinians except thus (*u*), *That by these exclusive Particles, such as only, &c. used of God, those are never simply excluded, who are dependent upon God in the Matter treated on. Thus God is said to be only Wise, Powerful and Immortal; but yet others, who are made partakers of these things, are not to be simply excluded from Wisdom, Power and Immortality. Wherefore when it is said that God only is to be worshipped, he is not to be simply excluded, who in this particular depends upon God; but rather is to be tacitly included upon account of the divine Government he has receiv'd over all things.* But, (1.) who gave these bold Men a Power of excepting where the Law does not except? The Law simply commands that divine Adoration be given to God only. For what they pretend, that it is said in Scriptures God is only wise, &c. but yet that others who are made partakers of these things, are not to be simply excluded from Wisdom, &c. is a mere Sophism. For tho', when it is said in Scripture that God only is wise, others are not excluded thereby from such a Degree of Wisdom, as comes to their share; yet this is certain, that by the exclusive Particle *only* in those Places, every Creature is excluded from the divine Wisdom, which belongs to God only. In like manner, when it is said in Scripture, that God only is to be worship'd, by that, others are not excluded from such Respect and Honour as belongs to them, yet all others are simply and absolutely excluded from that Worship which only belongs to God. (2.) This Answer supposes, that the divine Government over all things may be communicated to a mere Creature, which is by no means true. For all sober Men, by the divine Government over all things, understand both that Almighty Power by which God preserves, rules, and governs all those Creatures he hath made; and also that Right and Dominion of God which follows from thence, by which every Creature is subject to him, and every rational

(*u*) Schlictingius ad Meisneri articulum de Deo, p. 206, & 207.

Creature oblig'd to submit himself, and all he has, to God, for the Advancement of his Glory, and his own Benefit. This Divine Government, at least, is the only adequate Foundation of Divine Worship. Now that such a Divine Government over all Things, is not compatible with any Creature, is evident. If therefore Divine Worship is to be given to no one, but to him, to whom the Divine Government over all things is given, (which is certainly true) it will necessarily follow, that Divine Worship is to be given to God only, as is provided by that express Law we have alledg'd.

4. (2.) *St. Paul* objects this as a Crime to the *Galatians*, that for the time they knew not God, they served those who were not Gods by Nature (x). From this Place it is plain, that Divine Worship was to be given to no one, who had not the Divine Nature. For it is impossible, that what was the greatest Crime in the *Galatians*, whilst yet *Pagans*, should be lawful for us, bless'd with the Light of the Gospel, much less that it should be the chief Duty of a Christian. *Crellius's* Answer (y) upon this Place is very ridiculous. For he writes thus: *Hence also it appears why St. Paul objects this as a Crime to the Galatians, altho now past and over, that when they knew not God, they serv'd those, who by Nature were not Gods; namely, because, before there was no true God, those Galatians knew of none, as long as they did not know the true God, who was not also God by Nature; and therefore whosoever then worship'd him immediately and always, who was not God by Nature, worship'd a false God. Who can believe St. Paul thought of*

(x) Gal. 4. 8. *Dr. Clarke reads, To Gods, which have no Being in Nature. Where is the Difference? Must the Words necessarily be render'd, as he would have them, because they lie in such an Order in the Alex. MS? And when they are so render'd, what do they amount to more? See the Syriac, a Version well known by the Learned to be of great Authority. That reads, Which are not in their own nature Gods.*

(y) *Ed. Selenoburgi, p. 229, & 230.*

this,

this, when he wrote these Words? Besides, that there should be a true God, who is not God by Nature, seems incomprehensible to every sober Mind, (whatever the *Socinians* may brangle to the contrary.)

5. But the most remarkable Place is in the *Apocalypse* (2), where the Angel thus speaks to *John*, who was prostrate at his feet in order to adore him: *See thou do it not, I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren, who have the Testimony of Jesus; worship God.* The Angel refuses *St. John's* Worship upon two accounts: (1.) Because he was his Fellow-Servant; as tho he should say, Whosoever is a Servant of God, is not to be honour'd with Divine Worship; but I am a Servant of God as well as you, tho in a higher Station: therefore you are not by any means to worship me. Surely this Reason equally extends itself to every Creature, since there is no Creature, in what eminent Station soever, who is not a Servant of God, as well as other Creatures. If therefore Christ be a mere Creature, it is unlawful to give him Divine Adoration. I know (a) *Grotius* thought the Worship, which the Angel refus'd from *St. John*, was only Civil Worship, such as we read has been given sometime to the Prophets without Sin; and therefore that the Angel forbade it not, as in itself unlawful, but as too much Respect from one in the Apostolical Office. For so that very learned Person writes in his Explication of the Decalogue: *He that forbids Gifts and Libations, does not forbid Tokens of Reverence, &c.* For that the Angel in the *Apocalypse* refuses that Honour, was not, that there was any thing unlawful in it, but that the Angel sets the Apostle upon a level with himself, as being both the Servants of Christ, who is now the Head of the Angels; and that the Office of an Apostle, adapted to the Salvation of Men, is in no respect inferior to the Office of an Angel.

(2) Ch. 19. ver. 10.

(a) In Explicatione Decalogi, Præcept. 2.

Now Collegues in Office don't use to give one another such Tokens of Submission. But the great Man is mistaken in both Parts of his Opinion. For that it was not Civil Worship, or Respect only, which the Angel rejected, is very plain both from the Words of the Angel, *Worship God*, and also from those other Words, *See thou do it not*; a way of speaking which forbids something, not as indecent only, but unlawful, and absolutely to be avoided. Now the Great Man seems to have erred in this, that he hath not accurately distinguish'd between the Prostration of St. John, and the Worship he was about to give when prostrate. The Words are clear, *I fell down at his Feet to worship*. Here it is evident, the Design of what St. John did, is chiefly censur'd, and that the Fact was culpable upon that account. For to fall upon the Ground at the Feet of an Angel, is not evil in itself; because it is certain such Respect has formerly been given to Men, to Kings and Prophets, and that often by Holy Men. But the Apostle is blamed for prostrating himself at the Feet of the Angel, in order to worship him, to pay him Divine Worship, (perhaps the Sacrifice of Praise, for his joyful Tidings of the Marriage of the Lamb.) Therefore the Angel did not so much blame what he had done, as forbid what he was about to do: *See thou do it not*. Nor is there any more Truth in it, that the Angel forbid the Worship, for that it was too much for one, who was then honour'd with the Apostolical Office, because it is clear from a parallel (b) Place, that this Prohibition of the Angel was to be extended to all Christians. For there he speaks thus: *See thou do it not, I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of those who observe the Word of this Book: Worship God*. Here not only the Prophets are mention'd, but also all pious Persons, all Christians, who are described in these Words [*And of those who observe the Words of this Book.*] This De-

(b) Apoc. 22. 9.

scription is large, and more general than the word [*Prophets*] and therefore is set after it, as something more common. So *Crellius* (c) himself explains the Place. But *Grotius* (d), contrary to the Faith of the *Greek Copies*, and plain Reason also, has omitted the Particle [*and* ;] for what end, I know not, except to serve his own Purpose. Thus much for the former Reason: The other we have in these Words, *Worship God*, which seem to be taken from the Divine Command cited by *our Lord*. Now 'tis plain the Words are to be taken exclusively, as tho the Angel had said, 'That Worship, which you was about to give, is only proper to God; see therefore that you don't give it me. Otherwise there is no force in the Angel's Reasoning. These Places then (to which I could add many more) invincibly prove (what *Zuicker* says *Justin* laid as the Foundation of his Opinion concerning the Divine Nature of Christ) that Divine Worship is not to be given to any one except God.

6. The Arguments brought against these by the *Socinians*, are of no weight. (1.) They object that Holy Men, under the Old Testament, paid Divine Honours, and that without Sin, to Angels, who transacted with them in the Name of God. Now in our *Defence of the Nicene Creed* (e), we have fully prov'd, that as often as any Angel is in Holy Scripture call'd *Jehovah*, and has Divine Honours, the Fathers thought him to be, not a mere Angel, but an Angel join'd to the Word; and that this their Opinion is so far from contradicting any part of Scripture, that it is confirm'd by the express Testimony of *St. Paul*. I add, that this Opinion is not a little strengthen'd by the Places treated of before, in which Divine Worship is appropriated to the true God. But it is most especially confirm'd by this, That we don't find in any Age, or Place, under the Gospel, any one, who was said to be an Angel, and yet thought worthy of such

(c) P. 288.

(d) In locum.

(e) Sect. I. Cap. I.

Honour, unless by St. *John*, in the hurry of Affection; by St. *John*, who stands condemn'd by the Angel, for his Intention to pay him such a Worship as was above the Dignity of Angels, and only due to God.

7. Some Learned Divines enquire into the Cause of this; and amongst the rest, *Ribera* (f) writes thus: *How is it, says he, that Angels are adored before the Coming of our Saviour, and say nothing against it; but afterwards refuse it? It is because they behold him clothed in our Nature, which before they despised, and therefore are afraid to see it prostrate before them. They dare not now condemn, as below them, what they revere, as above them, in the Kingdom of Heaven.* *Crellius* (g) also is fond of this Reason. But indeed I think it rather subtle, than solid; and I am therefore of that Opinion, because in the Place *Ribera* explains, there is no shadow or appearance of it. On the other hand, the Angel refuses the Worship which St. *John* intended him, upon Grounds of perpetual Force and Truth, which equally belong to the Times of the Old and New Testament. (1.) The Angel urges, that he is a Fellow-Servant of the Faithful: Might the same be said of the Angels under the Old Testament? To be sure: For *David* then speaks of the Angels thus: (h) *Who made his Angels Spirit, and his Ministers a flaming Fire.* The Angels then under the Old Testament were no less Ministers of God, than Men, tho in that higher Station, in which they remain since the Coming of Christ. This might be proved from many Places of the New Testament, which plainly shew that more eminent Honour and Reverence is due to them, than to any *Mortals* (i). (2.) The other Reason of the Angel's, in these words [*Worship God*] has also an evident Relation to the Old Testament. Nay, it seems, as I said before, to be taken from the Words of *Moses*. In

(f) In Commentariis in Apocalypsin ad locum, Cap. 19.

(g) P. 277.

(h) Psal. 104. 5. Compare with it Heb. 1. 7. and last.

(i) 1 Cor. 11. 10. 1 Tim. 5. 21.

short, when we speak about the Worship of Angels; we either understand Civil Worship only, or that which is Divine and Religious. The former is due to them even under the Gospel, for their great Excellency above Men, and the Eminence of their Power: but under the Law itself, it is forbidden to pay them the latter, because of their infinite Distance from the Almighty God. Hence we read in the (k) Old Testament, that the Angel, who appear'd to *Manoah* with the greatest Caution, prevented the Divine Worship, the Sacrifice, intended for him. For when *Manoah* would have detain'd him, that he might make ready for him a sucking Kid, he answers, *If you detain me, I will not eat of the Meat; but if thou wouldst make ready a Sacrifice, thou shalt offer it to the Lord.* As if he should have said, There are two Ends of providing Meat, either that it should be eaten after the manner of Men, or burnt in Sacrifice to God; there is no occasion for the former, and the latter is unlawful: for know, that *Sacrifice* is only to be offer'd to God.

8. You'll ask then, how shall we solve the propos'd Difficulty? There is little in it indeed, if you'll stand by the Judgment of the Fathers. For they say, that the Word and Son of God under the Old Testament, the Angel of the Covenant, very often convers'd with Men by Angels, or Angelical Appearances, that is, such as the Angels commonly used; and therefore was with very good reason worshipped by Holy Men, to whom he appear'd. Now these Appearances, being certain Earnests, Shadows and Figures of the future Incarnation of the Son of God, did with just ground cease after his coming in human Flesh: when the Truth appear'd, what occasion for the Shadows of it? Now this Reason given by the Fathers, seems to me much preferable to all the Conjectures of the Moderns.

(k) Judges 13. 16.

9. But to wave all Conjectures, this is certain, and confessed by the Adversaries themselves, that the truly Divine Worship, such as is in Scripture commanded to be given to Jesus Christ, never ought to be given to Angels, nor ever was given to them by Holy Men under the Old Testament. Therefore the Hereticks freely confess that the Adoration formerly given to Angels (granting that they were Angels) was by them given after a very different manner from that which in the Scripture of the New Testament is given to Jesus Christ. They acknowledge this threefold Difference. 1. The Patriarchs adored the Angel as present and in their sight, by prostrating themselves before him; but we are commanded to pay this Respect to Christ, tho not seen, and (as to his human Nature) far distant from us, even in the Heavens, which chiefly, tho not only, distinguishes Human Worship from Divine. These are almost the very Words of *Crellius* (l). 2. He that formerly worship'd an Angel representing God, truly worship'd God himself immediately, the Angel only by accident; nor then was the Angel indeed worship'd as such, but as *representing* God (m). Nay, the Person of the Angel was no more worship'd than the Ark of the Covenant, when pious Men worship'd God himself towards it, as a Token of the Divine Presence. On the other hand, our Lord Jesus is in Scripture propos'd to be worship'd immediately. This is so true, that *Socinus* himself grants that Christ is worthy of Divine Honour, and is not commanded to be worship'd in Holy Scripture without the most weighty Reasons, as the Scriptures themselves *teach* us (n). 3. Such an Angel was only worshipped for that time, that he appear'd upon Earth in the Name of God, and represented him, after which Divine Worship was no more esteem'd due to him. But our Saviour is perpetually to be worship'd by us. *Crellius* (o) restrains this Perpetuity to the Duration of

(l) P. 289.

(m) P. 277.

(n) Apocal. 5. ver. 12,

(o) P. 275.

the World. For he writes thus: *The Government of Christ, as eternal, and according to what the Angel says in St. Luke (p), not to have an end, only extends so far, as there can be a Government over the House of Jacob, and as this present Frame of things shall endure. Now this shall endure as long as the World, and as long as the last Enemy of Christ, Death, shall remain unsubdu'd. Upon which account, the Son is so to be honour'd as the Father (q). Crellius had an eye to a Passage in the former Epistle to the Corinthians, where (r) St. Paul says, that the Son, after he has overcome the last Enemy, Death, shall be subject to the Father, and will give up the Kingdom to him. Now in my mind (s) Peter Martyr has very well reconciled this Place, with those that ascribe an absolute Eternity to the Kingdom of Christ. To reign, or govern, is sometimes taken for excelling others, having the Pre-eminence, or the highest Place over others. Now in this sense Christ will always reign. But if we say, that to reign is the same as to exercise the Offices of a King, to fight for, to defend, to conquer, and the like; Christ will not always reign. For when we are perfect and compleat, we shall have no occasion for these Aids of Christ. When he came into the World, he preach'd, he taught, he died for our Salvation; now also he intercedes for us with the Father, he defends us from imminent Dangers, and never intermits his Mediatorial Offices and Actions. But at the end, when he hath made an universal Peace, he will resign these Offices to the Father, because then there will be no further occasion for them. Thus, when a powerful Prince sends his only Son to some Province of his Realm, which is seditious, tumultuary and rebellious, the Son goes with Command and a strong Force; but when he has quieted the Commotions, and subdu'd the Rebels, he returns Conqueror to his Father, triumphs, and delivers up the Province in Peace to his Father, no longer uses the military Command, or the Legions, &c. Now that Christ, after he has deliver'd the Me-*

(p) Ch. i. ver. 33. (q) Joh. 5. 23. (r) 1 Cor. 15. 28.

(s) Communium locorum Class. 2. Cap. 17. §. 14. p. 293.

diatorial Kingdom to the Father, shall not be depriv'd of his Divine Honour, Dignity, Command and Worship; but, together with God the Father, shall be adored to all Eternity by all Saints, yea by Angels and Archangels; many *Places of Scripture* (t) inform us.

10. Let the Hereticks then no longer defend their sinking Cause from the Example of the Angels, who representing God under the Old Testament, were Partakers of Divine Worship; since, by their Confession, those Examples are nothing to their purpose. For from the threefold Difference just now mention'd, we can draw three invincible Arguments for the Son's Divinity. From the first we argue thus: Whosoever in Heaven may and ought to be worshipped by Men on Earth, is God: But Christ in Heaven, &c. Therefore Christ is God. Our Adversaries grant the Assumption, and the Truth of the Proposition is clear. For whosoever is so worship'd, either understands it, or he does not; if he understands it not, he is worship'd in vain; if he understands it, he is omniscient and omnipresent, and consequently God. You'll say that does not follow, because he may understand by Divine Revelation. But, I say, this is absolutely impossible. For that Knowledge is above a created Understanding, and therefore no Creature can have it either of himself, or from another. For the Illustration of this Matter, take that most noble Part of Divine Worship, Divine Invocation, which clearly belongs to Christ, as the *Scriptures* (u) testify. Sure it is impossible that a human Soul, illuminated by what degree soever of Divine Light, should at the same time know and understand all the Vows and Prayers, daily put up by so many Millions of Men, in so many Places so widely distant, to the Name of Christ, in the

(t) Rom. 9. 5. Heb. 13. 21. 1 Pet. 4. 11.—5. 11. compared with 2 Pet. 3. 18. Apocal. 1. 5, 6.—5. 12, 13.

(u) Acts 2. 21.—7. 59.—9. 11, 14.—22. 16. Rom. 10. 13. 1 Cor. 1. 2. 1 Thess. 3. 11, 12, 13. 2 Thess. 2. 16, 17.

same moment. The Mind of Christ as Man, and exalted to the right hand of God, is indeed wonderfully great; but yet it is not infinite, so as to penetrate all Places, and all Persons, by whom his Sacred Name is at the same time invoked in both the Hemispheres, and to perceive also the most secret Thoughts of their Hearts, who call upon him. It is the Eye of God only, who at one Glance beholds and surveys the whole Globe of the Earth. Whence the *Socinians*, who make use of this last shift to establish the Divine Invocation of Christ, tho' only mere Man, whilst they laugh at the Popish Dream, by which they commonly defend the Invocation of Saints, the Glass of the Trinity (in which the Blessed can see in the Essence of God, as in a Glass, all that is made or done upon Earth; yea, can even know the most secret Thoughts of our Hearts) render themselves indeed ridiculous to all prudent Men: For if such an Omniscience can be communicated to the Soul of Christ as Man, by Divine Revelation, no good reason can be given why the Souls of the Saints, in the same manner, may not be, and are not made Partakers of the same in their way. *Novatian's* Argument then is invincible, and in spite of the Hereticks will always continue so: (x) *If Christ was only Man, how is he present every where when invoc'd, since to be capable of being every where, is not the Nature of Man, but of God.*

II. This Argument press'd *Socinus* grievously, who from it fearing the Ruin of his Cause concerning the meer Humanity of Christ, was forced to assert confidently, that there was no Divine Precept which obliged any Man to call upon the Name of Jesus Christ in his Prayers. Thus in his third Epistle to *Radecius*: *Here in the first place he confounds Adoration with Invocation, which ought not to be, since the Reason of both is different. For tho I don't at all doubt that there is a Precept for adoring Christ, and that, tho there was not, that he*

(x) P. 717.

certainly ought to be ador'd, yet I can't think the same of invoking him, since Invocation is taken for the imploring his Aid, and the Direction of our Prayers. For here I am of Opinion, that we may indeed well do it, that is, may justly direct our Prayers to Christ himself, but yet that there is nothing to oblige us to it. And in another Place (y): *We may invoke the Lord Christ, but we are under no Obligation to do it.* He is yet more boldly blasphemous, where he says (z), *But if any one has such a degree of Faith, as that he dares always apply himself directly to God, he has no occasion to invoke Christ.* Thus he writes: 1. Now if Radecius confounds Adoration and Invocation, Soci-nus certainly distinguishes them too subtilely. For all Men own that Invocation is that, in which the Worship, or Adoration truly Divine, does especially consist, and therefore that it is frequently taken for the whole of Divine Worship in Holy Scripture. But indeed what Divine Worship he grants to Christ, who denies him Invocation, I can't imagine. 2. That Saying of his, *We may worship Christ, but we are not oblig'd to it,* seems incomprehensible. For I ask, is there any Precept for invoking Christ in Scripture, or not? If there is, then we ought, we are obliged to invoke him. But if there is no such Precept in Holy Writ, certainly we can't do it without Sin; unless indeed Divine Invocation (the chief Part of the Divine Worship) be entirely left at our Disposal. You'll say, tho we are not commanded to invoke Christ, yet there are broad Hints in Scripture, which plainly suggest to us, that he is a very proper Object of Divine Invocation, and therefore may justly be invoked by us. What are these? You'll tell me perhaps, it is plain from Scripture, that Christ is very well inclined towards us, that he thoroughly knows all the Necessities of our Souls and Bodies, and is a most curious Inspector of all the Secrets of our Hearts, so as to know how

(y) Responso ad Fr. David.

(z) Disputatio cum Frankenio, p. 4.

all who call upon him, are affected to him (a). Lastly, that he is Almighty, can free us from all impending Evils, be they never so great, and can put us in possession of all the good things *we want* (b). I answer : These things are indeed requisite to make a proper Object of Divine Invocation. But, 1. These Attributes argue the Divine Nature of him, who has them, and cannot belong to mere Man, or any created Nature. Therefore the *Socinian Hypothesis* sinks, namely, that Christ is mere Man, or granting this, that he is a fit Object of Invocation truly Divine. 2. Our Argument is still good. For I ask, Whether these Perfections of Christ, celebrated in Scripture, by which he is made a proper Object of Divine Invocation, be such, as that from them Christ has a right to that Worship? If you say they are, then it will necessarily follow, that we not only may, but ought to invoke Christ; for certainly we ought to give every one his due, especially Christ: But if you deny that they are, it will follow that Christ can't lawfully be invoked by us. For we can't, without Sin, give any one Divine Worship (especially Invocation) who has no right to it. So inconsistent is that; *We may invoke the Lord Christ, but we are not oblig'd to it.* *Nomoevius*, otherwise a great Admirer of *Socinus*, saw this, and makes a Note, very well worth our observing, upon his *Words* just now cited (c): *I have diligently read your Answer to the Arguments of Francis David, where you assert the Invocation of the Lord Christ, and the Honour due to his Sacred Name, and defend it against his Calumnies. But in my Thoughts you have not only obscur'd your excellent Opinion by a few Words, but also render'd it dubious, and confirm'd your Adversaries in their Error. Do you desire to know what has done all this Mischief? I'll tell you in short. Those Words which you often add [We may invoke Christ, but we are under no Tie or Obligation*

(a) Apocal. 2. 23.

(b) Phil. 3. 21.

(c) Ep. 1. to Socinus, An. Dom. 1587.

to do it] threaten your Cause with Ruin. I can't perceive how these things can be reconcil'd, We are not oblig'd, and yet we may. As if in the Affair of our Salvation, it was free for us to do, or omit any thing, as we saw it more or less necessary.

12. Lastly, It is plain from Holy Writ, that we are oblig'd to give the Worship of divine Invocation to the Lord Christ. It is manifest even from this, that in Scripture, all Christians, by virtue of their Religion, are suppos'd to invoke Christ. For this Reason they are describ'd by these Words: *Those that call upon the name of Jesus* (d). Besides, by divine Precept we are oblig'd to give the same Worship and Honour to the Son, as we give to the Father (e). But no one will deny that Invocation is due to the Father. Lastly, the Invocation of Jesus Christ is commanded us in the Gospel, as a Condition absolutely necessary to the obtaining Salvation: *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved* (f). Here by the Word *Lord*, the Context plainly shews that Christ is meant. For, (1.) the Lord, concerning the invoking whom, he speaks, is evidently the same, who is propos'd by him as the Object of (g) *Christian Faith*, that is, the Lord Jesus. (2.) The Apostle teaches, that the same Lord is to be call'd upon by all under Peril of Salvation, in whom the Jews did not believe, and of whom they might say that they had *not heard* (h), which every Man may see can only be understood of our Saviour. Now it is clear as any thing can be from the Places cited, that the Invocation of this Lord, is not only commanded, but also universally requir'd as an absolutely necessary condition of obtaining Salvation. It is almost as clear, that [to call upon the name of the Lord] in this Place, is the same as to implore the Lord's aid, or to direct our Prayers to him, or at least, comprehends that under it. For invoking the

(d) Acts 9. 14. 1 Cor. 1. 2.

(e) John 5. 23.

(f) Rom. 10. 13.

(g) V. 9, 10, 11, 12.

(h) V. 14.

Name of God, has certainly two Senses in Holy Scripture. (1.) It is in general taken for the whole *Worship of God* (i). This Signification seems to have had this Original, (as *Crellius* well (k) observes) that Invocation was more frequent than the other Parts of Religion, and upon that account more excellent than the rest, since Necessity itself usually forces us to call upon him, and implore his aid, whom we esteem and worship as our God; infomuch, that among Men, he that does not invoke any one, is never thought to take him for his God. (2.) In a stricter Sense, it is taken for Prayer to God; which Word also is sometimes used in a more large, and sometimes in a more confin'd Sense. In a more large Sense, when it comprehends Thanksgiving, as it (l) frequently doth; and that for this Reason, because they are commonly join'd one with the other. In a stricter, or more confin'd and proper Sense, when it is taken for the desiring some Good, or imploring the divine Assistance. The former Sense of the Word seems to me most natural in this Place; but chuse whether you please, our Argument from the Place is valid. But, O Blessed Jesus, to what times hast thou reserv'd us, which can suffer such horrid Blasphemy against thy Holy Name! Who can hear these things without weeping; namely, That no one is oblig'd to pray to thee for thy divine Grace and Assistance; especially from those, who pretend themselves Worshipers of thy Majesty?

13. Into the same depth of Madness, driven by the same Necessity, (m) *Volkelius* fell after *Socinus*, and *Schlictingius*: Yea, *Crellius* himself, who talks much every where of the divine Worship of Jesus Christ, yet in some Places either runs into the Opinion of *Socinus*, or is not far from it. Thus he speaks of those

(i) Gen. 12. 8. & 13. 4. & 21. 37. Psal. 14. 4. & 53. 5. Isaiah 41. 22. (k) P. 380.

(l) Luke 18. 10, 11. Acts 3. 1. & 16. 13. Phil. 1. 3, 4.

(m) *Volkelius de Vera Relig. Lib. 4. Cap. 11. de Invocatione Christi ad Meisner. p. 206, & 207.*

who in their Prayers are defective, are that way in the *Extremes*: He especially notes those (*n*) who will not direct Prayers to him, and who don't direct them, when there is occasion, to him, to whom they not only might, but for some certain Reasons ought to do it; adding by way of Example, *As, if any one will not invoke Christ, when others of the Faithful direct their Prayers to him, or Edification otherwise requires it, or the Spirit itself suggests and dictates it to some one.* Observe what a String of Limitations! The Heretick indeed confesses that we may direct our Prayers to Christ, but are not absolutely oblig'd to it, except in certain Cases; as when others do it, lest we should make an unnecessary Separation; or when Edification requires it, that is, when there is Danger, that, if we refuse to invoke him, weak Brethren should suspect, and not without Cause indeed, that we deny divine Worship to Christ; or lastly, when the Spirit dictates it, that is, when we have a fancy to do it, or as oft as we have a mind. But why, I beseech you, must a Christian expect the Dictate of the Spirit before he presumes to direct his Prayers to Christ? There is great danger, forsooth, that he should pray to no purpose, pour himself forth into the empty Air; because it is very uncertain, when the Man Christ is sensible of our Devotions, or when he may be acquainted with the Prayers directed to him, by divine Revelation: and therefore in this most dubious Case, we must have Information from the Holy Spirit. Good God! how deep a Mystery of Iniquity is *Socinianism*!

14. I've been the larger upon this Difference, because I thought it wou'd be of use to the Reader, who is unacquainted with the Tricks and Frauds of the Hereticks, with whom we are engag'd. I come now to the second difference observ'd by *Crellius*, and from this I shall draw another Argument for the Son's Divinity. Whosoever is to be worship'd immediate-

(*n*) Pag. 398.

ly, or in himself with divine Honour, and therefore is also worthy of such Worship, must be true God, God by Nature : But Christ is to be worship'd immediately, or in himself, with divine Honour, &c. as the Scripture expressly affirms, and the Adversaries themselves confess. Therefore Christ is true God, God by Nature. The Proposition here is very easy to be prov'd. No one can be worthy of divine Worship, who has not a divine, that is, an infinite Dignity and Excellence ; (for that divine Excellence, is the only Foundation of truly divine Worship) but divine and infinite Dignity and Excellence only belong to God, can't fall to the share of any Creature (for finite is not capable of infinite) therefore, &c. How unanswerable this Argument is, appears evidently from the Dispute between *Faustus Socinus*, and *Christianus Frankenius*, concerning the Honour of Christ, where you find the unfortunate Heretick strangely press'd and reduc'd to his last Shifts by his Adversary with almost this very Syllogism. This *Frankenius* was one of *Socinus's* Disciples, who asserted, as well as he, that Christ was mere Man, but extended the Tenet further than his Master would have had him ; arguing from it, by necessary Consequence, that our Saviour was not to be worship'd by Religious or Divine Worship. He and *Socinus* had a dispute about it in the Hall of *Christopher Paulicovius*, March 14. 1584. *Frankenius's* first Argument was this (o) : *As great as the Distance is betwixt the Creator and a Creature, so great the Difference ought to be between the Honour given to the Creator and the Creature ; but there is the greatest Difference between the Creator and the Creature, both in Nature and in Dignity : Therefore there ought also to be the greatest Difference between the Honour of God and the Creature. But the Honour chiefly owing to God is religious Adoration ; therefore it is not to be given to a Crea-*

(o) De Adoratione Christi. disp. cum Frankenio, p. 4.

ture ; therefore not to Christ, whom you own to be a mere Creature. What says Socinus to this Argument ? He answers thus : *Tho' there be the greatest Difference between God and a Creature, there is no Necessity that there should be such a Difference between the Honour of God and a Creature. For God can communicate his Honour to whom he pleases, especially to Christ, who is worthy such Honour, and is not commanded to be ador'd in Scripture without the most weighty Reasons.* A ridiculous Answer indeed, and a mere begging the Question ! For the Question between Socinus and his Adversary was this : Whether Christ, if a mere Creature, cou'd be honour'd with divine Worship ? *Frankenius* proves, that he could not, because the distance between God and a Creature, and consequently between the Honour due to one and the other, must be infinite. Besides, God can't allow divine Worship to any to whom he does not also give the divine Nature and Excellence, of which no Creature is capable : For that would be repugnant to both the divine Wisdom and Truth ; to the divine Wisdom, because thus God would confer a Title without reality and foundation ; and therefore to the divine Truth, because then he would oblige his Creature to a lye, *i. e.* would command him to ascribe divine Dignity and Excellence to him, (for herein properly consists the truly divine Adoration) in whom such Excellence neither was, nor cou'd be. Lastly, How a mere Creature could be worthy divine Worship, or what those weighty Causes are, for which Christ, tho' mere Man, is commanded to be ador'd in Holy Scripture, no Socinian will ever be able to explain. Therefore Socinus had nothing else to reply to *Frankenius*, after he had prov'd by many Testimonies, that Divine Worship cou'd not be communicated to any Creature, but this (p), *I can answer all those Testimonies.* To this *Frankenius* rejoins : (q) *And I can give a probable Answer to all your*

(p) Pag. 7.

(q) Pag. 8.

Places which urge the Adoration of Christ. At length Socinus, overcome by the Arguments, but not willing to yield, says: *I'm as sure of the Truth of my Opinion, as I am that I have this Hat in my Hands.* To which Frankenius by way of ridicule answers (r): *That Assurance of yours can't be a Rule of Faith to me and others. For there is another will tell you, that he is very fully persuaded from Holy Scripture of the Truth of the contrary Opinion.* Thus it is utterly impossible from the Socinian Hypothesis, to defend the divine Worship of Jesus Christ.

15. I come now to the third and last Difference, from which I argue thus: Whosoever is to be honour'd with divine Worship, as well as God the Father, for ever, is by Nature God as well as the Father: But Christ is to be honour'd with divine Worship for ever, as well as the Father; therefore Christ is God by Nature, as well as the Father. The minor of this Argument we have prov'd before, (1.) From very plain Testimonies of Holy Scripture, when we spoke concerning this third Difference. The Truth of the Proposition is clear from those places of Scripture (which are very many) where the true God is distinguish'd from the Creatures, as being he, to whom alone divine Honour and Glory is due for *ever and ever* (s). (2.) From this undeniable Reason, that the Foundation of eternal Worship must be eternal; but there can be no other eternal Foundation than this, that he who is thus to be worship'd, is by Nature God; therefore Christ, who is thus to be worship'd, is God. The Hereticks make the mediatorial Office of Christ the Foundation of the divine Worship due to him. Now if this was true, it would necessarily follow, that the divine Worship of Jesus our Lord, should then

(r) Pag. 9.

(s) Matt. 6. 13. Rom. 1. 25. & 11, 36. & 16. 27. Gal. 1. 5. Eph. 3. 21. Phil. 4. 20. 1 Tim. 1. 17. 2 Tim. 4. 18. Jude 25. &c.

cease, when the Scriptures expressly affirm, that mediatorial Kingdom shall cease, namely, after Death the last Enemy is conquer'd, *i. e.* after the Resurrection, and the last Judgment (*t*) ; for the Cause being taken away, the Effect must cease. Thus much for the first Objection of the Hereticks. What they have gain'd by it, let the impartial Reader judge.

16. But our Adversaries have yet another Argument in which they greatly confide. For they say that the Scriptures have expressly decided the Question concerning divine Worship due to Christ for them ; where they teach, both that Royal Authority, or judicial Power, is the Foundation of the divine Worship due to Christ ; and that this Authority or Power was given to him by the Father, as Man. Now these two Points are clear from the Collation of St. John, Chap. 5. v. 22, 23. [*For the Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son, that all men should honour the Son, as they honour the Father*] with the 27th Verse of the same Chapter. And the Father hath given him Power of exercising Judgment because he is the Son of Man. To these two Places they add a third (*u*), where the Apostle expressly teaches, that God hath given to the Man Christ, exalted to the greatest height after his Death, and upon account of it, *a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c.* Now that these Places of Scripture, which fill every Page of their Writings, (and which they repeat till they are hoarse) are nothing to their purpose, will plainly appear after an accurate Disquisition concerning the true meaning of them.

17. (1.) As for the 27th Verse of the 5th Chapter of St. John (the Interpretation whereof depends upon the 22d and 23d Verses of the same Chapter) the Opinions of learned Men have been various concerning the Sense of it. 1. Chrysostom disapproves the receiv'd Punctuation of the Words, and thinks the

(*t*) 1 Cor. 15. 24, &c.

(*u*) Phil. 2. 6, &c.

Sense (admitting that Punctuation) inconsistent ; for Christ did not therefore receive the Power of judging, because he was Man ; if that had been the Reason, the same Power must have been given to all Men. He therefore bids us distinguish or point the Reading thus : *And he hath given him power also to exercise judgment ;* there make a Semicolon, and then proceed : *Wonder not at this, because he is the Son of Man ; for the hour cometh, &c.* So then this is the Sense : *What I have said of the Power of giving eternal Life, and of Judging, don't you think incredible, because you see I am a Man ; for I am also the Son of God, as shall be evident to you hereafter by the Resurrection, which I will accomplish.* This Punctuation of Chrysostom's has been approv'd by Cyril and Theophylact among the Antients, and by a very learned Modern, F. Junius. Nor indeed is it lightly to be rejected ; for the Syriac Interpreter (of great Authority, and with good Reason) has distinguish'd the Members of this Sentence after the same manner, and render'd it thus : *And he hath given him the Power of exercising Judgment. Wonder not at it now, because he is the Son of Man.*

18. (2.) Others not changing the Punctuation, think our Saviour had an eye in these Words to that place of (x) Daniel, where he prophesies that Power and Government should be given to the Son of Man from the Antient of Days ; as if it had been said, *That because he is the Son of Man foretold by Daniel, therefore Dominion, and an everlasting Kingdom over the Gentiles should be given him.* So Camero has interpreted it, and after him Grotius. But the want of the distinctive Article, or the Article by way of eminence (as Erasmus observes) is repugnant to this Exposition. It is written *ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, not *ὅτι ὁ υἱός*, &c. Now thus it ought to have been written, if design'd to point out a Person emphatically call'd the Son of Man.

19. The generality of Divines expound this Place concerning the Incarnation and Exinanition of the Son,

(x) Chap. 7. v. 13, 14.

thus :

thus: The Father hath therefore given Christ the judiciary Power, because he vouchsafed to be made the Son of Man, that is, Man, for the Salvation of Men; and tho' God took upon him Humanity, that he might save Mankind, by exposing it to Death. Wherefore he merited by this so great an Exinanition, the being made Man, and dying for Men, this advancement to the judiciary Power, that so he should be the Judge as well as the Saviour of all Men. According to this Exposition (a very probable one) Christ describes his own Humiliation spoken of, *Phil. 2. 7.* There the Apostle exhorts the Faithful to Humbleness of Mind, from Christ's Example, who, tho' in the Form of God, *i. e.* God, and therefore, in respect of his Nature, equal to God the Father, yet did not take upon him that Equality, did not carry himself as God, did not make a shew of it, being far from Pomp and Ostentation; but freely let himself down, humbled himself, taking upon him the form of a Servant, and being made Man, &c. therefore his Father gave him a Name above every Name, &c. exactly as in the Passage of St. *John* it is said, *That therefore the power of judging was given to the Son, because he was the Son of Man.*

20. Lasty, *Austin* and *Bede* interpret the Place thus; That the Father had transferr'd the Power of judging the quick and the dead upon the Son, because he was the Son of Man; that is, as he was a Person proper and suitable to the Office. This Interpretation the learned *Maldonate* (y) boldly affirms to be true; who also upon the 22d Verse of the same Chapter gives us the same Exposition more at large (z): *Now the Father is said to judge no Man, not that he doth not judge in deed; for whatsoever one Person doth extra seipsam, as the Divines define, all the Persons do at the same time; but because he doth not judge in the Person of a Judge visible to those whom he judges, doth not talk with them, pass a verbal Sentence upon them; in a word, doth not judge in an external way, and judicial form, he is said to judge no one. For*

(y) In locum.

(z) In locum.

the Son alone judgeth in this Sense, because he alone is Man, such as he shou'd be who judges me (a). Therefore it is given as a Reason why the Father hath given all judgment to the Son, because he is the Son of Man. You see how many ways this Place may be expounded. Now take which of the Expositions you please, it will be of no Service to the Hereticks. To confess the Truth, there is a little too much obscurity and ambiguity, in the Text, to make it the Foundation of any sound reasoning.

21. As for the Place cited out of the Epistle to the *Philippians*, what the Hereticks presume, is there affirm'd, namely, That the Father gave Christ, as mere Man, a Divine Empire over Men, after his Death, is false. The very Words of the Place teach the contrary, that is, that he who took upon him the Form of a Servant, was made Man, before that, was in the Form of God, and consequently equal to God (b); and that he therefore obtain'd the greatest Glory in the Heavens, and a Name above every Name, because he condescended to be made Man for the Salvation of Men, and shew'd himself obedient to the Father, even to the Death of the Cross. The Truth and Certainty of this Answer depends upon our Interpretation of the Words [*Being in the Form of God, and taking upon him the Form of a Servant.*] How true and natural it is, every one will see, who will consider the Words of *St. Paul* with Attention and Impartiality. For the Apostle plainly teaches two things in this

(a) *Irenæus*, Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

(b) *Dr. Clarke* has labour'd this Point without any notice of this accurate Exposition, and brought in our Author, as of his Mind in interpreting the greatest Difficulty of the Text. He makes *ἵσα θεῷ*, or *ἑῷ ἵσθαι*, most properly to signify, To be honour'd as God; and says our Lord willingly condescended to humble himself first into the Form of a Servant, and then was exalted to be *ἵσα θεῷ*, honour'd as Lord of all things. If this be the true Interpretation, how shall we explain those Texts of Scripture, and those Passages of Antiquity, which assert his Glory and Honour with the Father to be the same before he came down from Heaven, as after? What a wonderful Condescension was it in him, not to covet to be honour'd as God, and what an incomprehensible thing that he should think of it at all, who was not God?

Place :

Place: 1. That our Saviour was, and subsisted in the Form of God, before he took upon him the Form of a Servant. Nothing is clearer. For here the Apostle observes upon, and proposes the Example of our Saviour's wonderful Condescension, who, tho in the Form of God, empty'd, or degraded himself in taking upon him the Form of a Servant. Now all Condescension supposes a more exalted State before it, from which a Person descends into a lower. 2. That Christ then took upon him the Form of a Servant, when he was made Man. This is evident from the Words of the Apostle: *He empty'd himself, taking upon him the Form of a Servant, being made in the Likeness of Men.* In this the old *Latin* Interpreter agrees with the *Greek*. Here is a continu'd Exposition, in which the latter Member of the Sentence immediately succeeds the former, and explains it without any Conjunction copulative. If you ask how Christ empty'd or degraded himself, the Apostle tells you, by taking upon him the Form of a Servant. If again you ask how Christ took upon him the Form of a Servant, the Answer immediately follows, by being made in the Likeness of Men, made Man, in all things, Sin only excepted, like unto us. Now from what has been said, it is clear that our Saviour subsisted, and that in the Form of God, before he took upon him human Nature, and therein the Form of a Servant. To make this still more evident, two things are especially to be observed. 1. That the Form of a Servant doth not here signify the servile Condition of Man, as it is opposed to the State and Condition of a free Man, one that is his own Master, as the Hereticks contend, and some Catholicks have impudently granted. For here the Form of a Servant is manifestly oppos'd to the Form of God. Now all Creatures, compared to God, have the Form of Servants, and stand oblig'd to obey God. Hence the Apostle, after he had said that our Saviour took upon him the Form of a Servant, being made in the likeness of Men, quickly adds, being made obedient, namely to God the Father. This the

Apostle also signifies in another Place (c), where, after having said that God the Father, in the Fulness of Time, sent forth his Son made of a Woman, he immediately adds, *made under the Law*: Our Saviour therefore then took upon him the Form of a Servant, when he took upon him the created, that is, the human Nature, and in that Nature was made obedient to God. 2. The Apostle's elegant Gradation, in describing the Exinanition of Christ, is to be observed: This by the Catholick Interpretation is preserved entire; but by the Heretical Comment is obscur'd, yea wholly destroy'd. *Christ*, says the Apostle, *empty'd himself, taking upon him the Form of a Servant*. This might have been said of him, if he had taken upon him the Nature of Angels; for Angels themselves are the Ministers and Servants of God. Therefore he subjoins, *Being made in the likeness of Men, and therefore a little lower than Angels* (d). It follows, *And being found in fashion as a Man, he humbled himself, being made obedient, &c.* He not only, tho God, took upon him human Nature, but also greatly humbled himself in it, being made in all things obedient to the Father, even to Death, and that the Death of the Cross, a painful, infamous and ignominious Death. But that the Words, in which the Apostle describes the State, in which our Saviour was before his Exinanition, may be better understood, we must repeat, what we before observed, that *the Form of God*, and *Form of a Servant*, or *Similitude of Men*, are oppos'd to one another. As therefore Christ was so made in the Similitude of Men, as to be a true Man; in like manner also he was so in the Form of God, as to be very God. Besides, from this Opposition, of *the Form of God*, and *the Form of a Servant*, we may strongly conclude against the *Arians*, that the Nature of Christ, in which he subsisted as the Son of God, before his Incarnation, was not a created Nature. The Son of God then only took upon him the Form of a Servant, when he took upon him a created Nature, being made in the like-

(c) Gal. 4. 4.

(d) Heb. 2. 9. compar'd with ver. 16.

ness of Man; he was never before in the Form of a Servant, but subsisted in the Form of God. But according to the *Arians*, who take the Son of God for a Creature, that Son of God was always, even before his Incarnation, in the Form of a Servant. For every Creature, even the most excellent, as I observed just now, compared to God, is in the Form of a Servant, and is obliged to serve and obey God. Hence it is also plain, that the Son of God, according to his more excellent Nature, in which he subsisted before the Incarnation, was equal to God his Father; as is manifestly taught by the Apostle in the following Words. Consult also what we have cited from the Primitive Fathers, *Hermas*, *Clemens Romanus*, and *Justin Martyr*, for the Illustration of *this Place* (e). From all these things it is clear, that the *Socinians* have appeal'd to this Passage of the Apostle to no purpose, nay to the Ruin of their own Cause.

22. But it may here be ask'd, how it can be understood from our Hypothesis, by which the Son is God of God, and Partaker of the same Glory with God the Father, that the Divine Government was deliver'd up to him after his Passion and Resurrection. I answer, it may be understood three Ways: 1. After this manner, That the Son of God, having accomplish'd the Work of Man's Redemption upon Earth, acquir'd to himself a Divine Government over Men by a new and real Title, and consequently Divine Honour to be paid him by Men, namely, by the Title of Saviour or Redeemer. Our Learned *Jackson* (f) very well explains this Matter in his Commentaries upon the Apostles Creed, thus: *God the Father, tho he had never created this visible World, had been no less glorious than he now is. For the Creation indeed added much to the things created, yea, gave them their All, but nothing to God, who is infinite in Essence. Nevertheless, if God had created nothing, there had been no Foundation for the Attribute of*

(e) Defence of the *Nicene Creed*, Sect. 2. Ch. 2. §. 2: & Ch. 3. §. 4. & Ch. 4. §. 7.

(f) Upon the Creed of the Apostles, Lib. 11. Ch. 3.

Creator, nay, it had not been a true and real Attribute of God. After the same manner, suppose the Son of God never to have descended, in order to the taking our Nature upon him, he had remain'd no less glorious in Nature and Person than he now is, yet he had not been glorify'd by, or for the Title or Attribute of Incarnation. Or suppose the same Son of God had never humbled himself to Death, having taken upon him the Form of a Servant, (in this the Learned Man is mistaken, that he refers the Form of a Servant to the lowest degree of our Lord's Exinanition) he had certainly remain'd no less glorious in his Nature, his Person, and his Attribute of Incarnation, than he now is; but yet he would not have had those magnificent Titles, by which he is call'd OUR LORD, OUR REDEEMER, and the Fountain of our Grace and Salvation. All these Attributes are real, and therefore suppose a real Foundation, namely, that Christ humbled himself to Death, and that the Death of the Cross. Nor are these only real Attributes, but also more honourable (both in respect to God the Father, who of his good pleasure gave his only-begotten Son for us, and in respect to the Son of God, who by his Exinanition was pleas'd to pay the Price of our Redemption) than the Attribute of Creation. Therefore the Son of God also, not the Son of David only, was exalted after Death by a new and real Title, namely, the Title of REDEMPTION and SALVATION.

23. This, no doubt, was what the Apostle had a mind to signify to us in the (g) Place just now cited, where he teaches that Christ (who, as the Son of God, before he was made Man, was in the Form of God, and equal to God the Father) was so exalted after his Death by God the Father, that now all Men are of right oblig'd to confess he is *their Lord*; namely, by a new Title, as he has redeem'd them with his own precious Blood, that they should no longer be in their own power, but his Servants, as *bought with a Price* (h). Now the Merit of this Title is more than once greatly extolled in the *Apocalypse*. Thus the four living Crea-

(g) Ver. 11, (h) Compare 1 Cor. 6. Verse the last, and 7, ver. 22, 23, with 1 Pet. 1. 19, but especially Rom. 14. 8, 9.

tures, and the twenty-four Elders, sing this new Song to the Lamb of God (i): *Thou art worthy to receive the Book, and to open the Seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeem'd us to God by thy Blood, out of every Tribe, and Language, and People, and Nation.* Then sing the Choir of Angels: (k) *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory, and Blessing.* This Divine Honour is given to the Son of God in right of Redemption, as that is given to God the Father in right of Creation, which we find in another Place (l): *Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power; for thou hast made all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.* God the Father is glorify'd for the Work of the Creation, not as tho the Son, (m) *by whom* he made all things, was not also to be glorify'd upon the same account; but as the Father is the Fountain of the Deity, from whom the Son had both his Nature, and all his Divine Operations. God the Son is glorify'd for the Work of Man's Redemption, not as tho God the Father was not also to be glorify'd for the same Cause (for he, of his infinite Compassion to Mankind, sent (n) *his Son* into the World for our Salvation) but because the Son alone took upon him Human Nature, and in that Nature was made obedient even to Death, therefore the Work of Man's Redemption is, as it were, appropriated to the Son.

24. Now from this, that the Son by his Humiliation has a just Title, and a most equitable Right to a divine Authority over, and Honour from Men (to observe this by the way) we have this strong Argument for his Divinity: Whosoever has a just Title to divine Authority over Men, and divine Honours from them, must be God; but the Son has a just Title to divine Authority over Men, &c. Therefore the Son must be God. The Hereticks acknowledge the Minor, nor need we thank them for it, since it is very clearly prov'd from the Scriptures just now cited, which in-

(i) Ch. 5. ver. 9. (k) Ver. 12. (l) Ch. 4. verse the last.
(m) John 1. 3. Col. 1. 16. (n) John 3. 16.

form us, that divine Authority, and divine Honours, are as well due to God the Son, as Redeemer, as to God the Father as Creator. For the Major, no sober Man can doubt of it. For it is certain, and confess'd by our Adversaries, that no Creature can strictly merit that eternal Glory and Happiness, which holy Men shall partake of in the other World. How much more, absurd shou'd I say, or rather shocking, is it to say, that a mere Man can merit divine Honours, and even acquire to himself the Throne of God? Suppose, as *Socinus* doth, that Christ is only mere Man, how can you find such Merit in his Obedience? When he was Man, he appear'd as a common Man, he underwent Death, and that, as God would have it, the Death of the Cross. Now what did Christ, more than *Peter* the Apostle of Christ? (if we may give Credit to Ecclesiastical History.) Could he then, as Man merit the Crown of the Saints by all his Sufferings? No. What the (o) *Apostle* says, is certainly true of all the Sufferings of Men; *I reckon the Sufferings of this present time, not worthy to be compar'd to the Glory which shall be reveal'd to us.* How much less, if he was only meer Man, could Christ by his Passion merit divine Honours? On the other hand, if, as the *Apostle* doth, you conceive the Son of God to have existed first in the form of God, and consequently in respect of his Nature to have been equal to God; then to have taken upon him the form of a Servant, and to have been made Man; lastly, in this Nature to have obey'd God the Father to Death, even the Death of the Cross; we shall immediately perceive his infinite Condescension, and of consequence, his infinite Merit. This by way of Digression. This then is the first and chief reason why, as it were, a new divine Authority is in Scripture given to the Son of God, partaker of the divine Nature and Honour with God the Father, after his Death; namely, because after he had accomplish'd the Work of our Redemption, he acquired this Authority by a new Title (p).

(o) Rom. 8. 18. (p) See *Def. N. Cr.* Sect. 2. cap. 3. §. 15.

25. (2.) It may also be understood of that new and illustrious Manifestation of the Glory and divine Majesty of God the Son, made all the World over after his Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven. Whilst the Son was upon Earth, he was found in fashion as a Man, a mere Man, made no appearance of any thing more, except that in his Miracles some glimpse of the divine Majesty shew'd themselves through the Veil of the human Flesh. But after his Ascension into Heaven, the Glory of the Son was wonderfully reveal'd, by the Holy Spirit pour'd out upon the Apostles by him, by the stupendous Miracles wrought in his Name, by his Gospel preach'd every where, the Believers being baptiz'd, not only in the Name of the Father, but also of the Son and Holy Spirit. This Manifestation of the Son's divine Majesty was the more illustrious, because, not only whilst he convers'd among Men in human Flesh, but also in the Ages before that, his Divinity was either but obscurely known, or wholly unknown. *Tertullian* speaks very well of this Matter (q): *It pleas'd God so to renew the Covenant, as that he should after a new manner be believ'd one through the Son and Holy Spirit; that he should be openly known in his proper Names, who in times past was not understood to be preach'd in the Son and Spirit.* Well then is that said to be a new divine Authority given to the Son after his Resurrection, because before that time his divine Majesty and Authority was scarce known unto Men, (tho' as the Word of God, by whom all things were made, he together with the Father exercis'd divine Authority over Men before the Creation.)

26. If I'm not greatly mistaken, this is what the divine Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (r) means: *God, who in diverse manners hath in time past spoken to the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last Days spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath made Heir of all things, by whom also he made the World: who being the Splendor of his Glory, and the express Image of his Essence, and governing all things by his powerful Word, having purify'd our*

(q) Pag. 518.

(r) Chap. 1. v. 1, &c.

Sins by himself, is sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high. In these Words the Holy Writer clearly expresses both a new Manifestation, and a new Title of the Son's divine Authority; a new Manifestation, *ver. 2.* where he shews, that the Son now at length, in these last days, had manifested himself in the Flesh, and after having accomplish'd the Redemption of Mankind in that Flesh, was by the promulg'd Decree of his Father made Heir and Lord of all things; but yet that his Authority did not then take its beginning: since that it is he, by whom God made the World; and (as it follows) with whom God the Father hath from the Creation administer'd and dispos'd all things. Thus *Ignatius* says of the Son of God (s): *Who was with the Father before Ages, and appear'd at the end.* So after him *Justin* speaks: *He who was from the beginning, but appear'd of late.* And, *He who always was, but to-day is esteem'd the Son.* And again: *Saying that then he was born to Men, when he was about to be reveal'd.* The divine Author declares his new Title, *ver. 3.* where he teaches that the Son of God, tho' he was the Splendor of his Glory, and the express Image of his Father's Essence, and administered all things by his most powerful Word; yet made an expiation for our Sins, having taken upon him our Flesh, died for us in it, and after he had perfected the Expiation, ascended the Throne of the divine Majesty on high, as having by the most just Title, a right to that Seat. Great is the Emphasis of those Words, *By himself made Expiation, &c.* For by them is signified, that the Son of God, the Splendor of his Father's Glory, &c. did not constitute another Minister of this Expiation, but took our Nature into the Unity of his divine Person, and in that Flesh offer'd himself a Sacrifice for Sins. By the same Emphasis, God, or the Lord, is in another place said to have purchas'd the Church by his own Blood (t); where the most antient *Alexandrian* Copy, has it in a form yet more emphatical, as tho' we should say, *purchas'd*

(s) P.A. vol. 2. p. 18.

(t) Acts 20. 28.

chas'd it by Blood, and that his own proper Blood. The stress of our Interpretation lies upon these Words, *By whom he made the Worlds*, which we have elsewhere clearly and at (u) large shewn, must need be understood of the Creation of the World properly so call'd. This suppos'd, it is clear from this place, that the Son of God was before all Ages with God the Father, and existed in the Paternal Nature and Glory ; then that the Universe was made by Him, and afterwards by his most powerful Authority and Command, govern'd and directed ; nevertheless that the divine Authority of the Son lay hid, as it were, till the last times of the Gospel, and was at length reveal'd, when the Son took upon him human Nature, humbled himself to Death for the Salvation of Mankind, and thus, as it were, by a new and just Title acquir'd divine Authority over Men.

27. The Oeconomy of the Divine Persons in the most Holy Trinity, is to me indeed wonderful ; that Oeconomy, by which every distinct Person holds Mankind obliged to his Divine Authority, by a distinct Title, with which Title the distinct Revelation of every Person's Authority corresponds. We worship the Father under the Title of Creator of the Universe, who was also known to Men from the Creation of the World : We worship the Son under the Title of our Saviour and Redeemer, whose Divine Glory and Authority therefore was not revealed, till he had accomplished the Affair of Man's Salvation and Redemption upon Earth. Lastly, we worship the Holy Spirit under the Title of *Paraclete*, our Inlightner and Sanctifier, whose Divine Majesty did then appear more plain after his Descent upon the Apostles and first Christians, exceeding illustrious by the most plentiful Effusions of all sorts of Gifts. Then at last the Apostles, and that by their Lord's Command, baptized the Nations into the full and united Trinity, (as St. Cyprian speaks) *i. e. in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. This is what *Tertullian* intends,

(u) *Judgment of the Cath. Church*, Cap. 5. Sect. 8.

when

when giving the reason, why Christ did not baptize himself, he says: *Into whom should he baptize? Into Repentance? What business then had his Forerunner? Into the Remission of Sins, which he gave by a Word? Into himself, whom he veil'd with Humility? Into the Holy Spirit, who was not yet descended from the Father?* After this Revelation, by which the Divine Nature is known in its distinct Persons, all those, to whom it is made, are in Right bound, and by Divine Precept obliged to pay the same Divine Worship and Honour to the Son, which they pay to the Father; tho before it was sufficient for all the Pious among God's People to worship and adore One God the Father of all things, without that distinct Acknowledgment of Persons. Hence those Sayings, that under the Gospel it is required, that *all Men honour the Son, as they honour the Father*; and *he that denieth the Son, hath not the Father* (x).

28. We now come to the third way, or manner, by which the Son of God, God of God the Father before Ages, acquired, as it were, a new Divine Authority. The Son of God, having taken upon him human Nature, and in that humbled himself, being obedient to the Father, even to the Death of the Cross, was truly and properly exalted after his Resurrection, and advanced to the right hand of the Father. Now whatsoever was added to the human Nature either by his Humiliation or Exaltation, is with good reason in Scripture attributed to the Son of God, upon account of the nice and unspeakable Communion of the Human Nature with the Divine Person of the Son of God, as *Origen* expresses the hypostatical Union. So he who *was in the Form of God, and equal to God, was made obedient to the Death of the Cross*: He who is the Splendor of the Father's Glory, by whose most powerful Command and Authority all things are administer'd, made an Expiation for Sins by himself: He, who was the Prince of Life, is said to (y) *be kill'd*, and the Lord of Glory to (z) *be crucify'd*. So, on the

(x) John 5. 23. 1 John 2. 23. (y) Acts 3. 15.

(z) 1 Cor. 2. 8.

other hand, God [*the Son*] is said to be receiv'd up into *Glory* (a), namely, in that *Flesh* in which he was manifested. To this Head also may be refer'd the Words of our Lord's Prayer, which he put up when he was about to die (b): *I have glorify'd thee upon Earth, I have finish'd the Work thou gavest me to do; and now, Father, glorify me with the Glory I had with thee before the World was.* He desires that the *Glory*, which his Divine Nature always had with the Father before the World was made, may now be given to his Human Nature, not only by raising it from the Dead, and exalting it to Heaven; but also by placing it at the right hand of God, where the Divine Nature always was. In vain do the Hereticks endeavour to elude the Force of this Place by interpreting it of the divine Predestination, as their Predecessors did formerly (c); for they can't confirm this Interpretation by any suitable Texts of Holy Scripture. What they pretend, that the (d) *Apostle* speaks after the same manner, where he says of the Believers, that *Grace was given to them before Ages*, is a very great Mistake. Let us read the entire Passage: *Of him that sav'd us, and call'd us with an holy Calling; not according to our Works, but his own Purpose and Grace given to us in Jesus Christ before Ages.* How great a difference is there between this Place, and that before us. For, 1. The *Apostle* doth not absolutely say, *according to the Grace given*, but, *according to the Purpose and Grace given*. Now these words are either spoken figuratively, the *Purpose and Grace* being put for the *gracious Purpose* (as (e) afterwards, *Life and Incorruptibility* are put for the *incorruptible Life*) or they are to be taken in this plain Sense; *According to the Grace*, which God purpos'd, or decreed to give us in Christ before Ages. Again, Christ does not say, *the Glory which thou gavest me before the World was made*, but, *which I had*. No Man can avoid seeing the difference between these. For it may be said, that *Grace* is then given by God, with regard to the Certainty of his Purpose, by which he

(a) 1 Tim. 3. 16. (b) John 17. 4, 5. (c) Novatian de Trinitate. (d) 2 Tim. 1. 9. (e) Ver. 10.

decreed that the Faithful should have that Grace in Christ, in After-Ages, tho neither that Grace, nor those Persons, were then in actual being, who should have what was given them. Now the word [*have*] is possessive, and denotes the present Act and Fruition, (as the (f) *Bishop of Ely* has well observ'd upon this Place.) Lastly, it is thus in the Words of Christ, *the Glory which I had with thee*, namely, when I existed along with thee. Nor is it to be doubted that these Words of Christ, *The Glory which I had with thee before the World was made*, have the same Sense with the Saying of St. *John* in the beginning of the Gospel, that *the Word was in the beginning with God, i. e. the Father*. Besides, we have shewn in (g) another place, how the human Nature of Christ, exalted in the Heavens, is partaker of the divine Glory and Honour.

29. Thus much concerning the Adoration of Jesus Christ, and the Argument drawn from it by *Justin* and other Fathers to prove his Divinity. From all that has been said, I think it is now very plain, that the Religion of the best Men, which made them afraid of giving divine Worship to a mere Man, was not (as *Zuicker*, that insolent Despiser of the Fathers imagin'd) Vain, Puerile, and Superstitious; but supported by the best and strongest Reasons, which they, and their Accomplices, the Worshippers of Man, may much easier contemn than refute.

*To the only God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be given
Adoration and Blessing for ever and ever. Amen.*

(f) *Against the Racovian Catechism*, Sect. 23.

(g) *Def. N. Cr.* Sect. 2. Cap. 3. & 15.

F I N I S.

